The World Tomorrow

JUNE, 1932

Religion: Opiate or Stimulant?

John C. Bennett

Is Coercion Ever Justifiable?

Kirby Page

Socialism and Christianity

Francis A. Henson

Articles and reviews by Norman Thomas, Paul Jones, George A. Coe, Buell Gallagher and Reinhold Niebuhr

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The World Tomorrow Announces

THAT after continuing as a monthly for fifteen years, it proposes to begin publication early in September as a *weekly* journal.

As a radical journal of religion, THE WORLD TOMORROW will endeavor to answer these questions: What can religion do to hasten the radical and pacific transformation of the present social order? How may pacifism be made effective in a world of violence? What contribution has socialism to make in creating the new society? What are the major differences between socialism and communism? Wherein does the newer capitalism differ from socialism? How may we secure a more effective relationship between religion and pacifism and socialism?

THE WORLD TOMORROW will concentrate upon international, economic, racial and political problems; and its function will be four-fold:

FIRST, to examine various aspects of modern civilization from the angle of ethical and spiritual values, especially in the light of the religion of Jesus, and to reveal the hypocrisies, injustices and cruelties in our present social order.

SECOND, to discover and advocate constructive and ethical methods of bringing about the radical changes—deep-rooted and far-reaching changes, not temporary repairs—which must be made in existing social systems before the new society can be created.

THIRD, to expose the menace of violence as exemplified by Militarism, Capitalism, Fascism, and Communism, and to promote Pacifism and Socialism, especially by seeking a more effective relationship between them.

FOURTH, to interpret the actual and potential contribution of religion in generating the vision, confidence. courage and sacrifice required to transform the existing society into the Kingdom of God on earth.

HERE is a distinctive field not being covered by any existing weekly publication. THE WORLD TOMORROW hopes that many thoughtful persons who are deeply concerned about the titanic conflicts now raging among races, nations, and classes—even though they do not regard themselves as radicals—will nevertheless welcome the opportunity to examine contemporary problems and evaluate various proposed roads to freedom from a different point of view from those presented in the conservative and liberal press. The editors, therefore, welcome readers who are not always able to accept the interpretations and conclusions presented in its columns.

Through editorials, articles, correspondence from its readers, news items, book reviews, and other unique features, THE WORLD TOMORROW will endeavor to keep its readers in touch with significant trends of the hour.

The Editors

KIRBY PAGE, publicist and lecturer in 250 colleges, is the author of *Jesus or Christianity, National Defense,* ten other volumes, and a score of pamphlets on international, social and religious questions. Some of Mr. Page's works have been translated into ten foreign languages. Mr. Page has crossed the ocean eighteen times and has visited most of the countries of Europe and Asia, where he has had intimate contacts with many of the world's leaders.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, widely recognized as one of America's most brilliant religious leaders, is professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, and visiting professor at Yale University. He is a frequent contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* and other leading journals, and is the author of *Does Civilization Need Religion?* After repeated visits to Europe, he is a highly competent interpreter of trends on the Continent, especially in Germany and Russia.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, distinguished economist, and professor of industrial relations and economics at the University of Chicago, after serving THE WORLD TOMORROW as a Contributing Editor for several years, will become a full editor on September 1st. During the past three years Professor Douglas has devoted much of his time to a study of the complex problem of unemployment. His book, *Real Wages in the United States,* is the standard authority in its field.

A. ALBERT MACLEOD, executive editor, has been associated with THE WORLD TOMORROW for the past three years and in addition to his administrative work has taken an active part in the shaping of editorial policy. A Canadian by birth, Mr. MacLeod is in close touch with the socially significant movements in Canada, and has introduced many distinguished Canadian writers to our readers. He will continue to have administrative direction of the publication.

Associate Editors

H. N. BRAILSFORD, foremost British publicist, was formerly editor of *The New Leader,* official organ of the Independent Labour Party; and previously editorial writer for *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Nation* (London). He is the author of a dozen distinguished volumes on economic and political questions. His interpretations of events in India, the Balkans, and Russia, as well as his articles on the British scene, have won for him a distinction not excelled by any contemporary.

GEORGE A. COE, eminent educator, for many years a member of the faculty at Northwestern University, Union Theological Seminary, and Teachers College of Columbia University, is the author of *What Ails Our Youth? The Motives of Men,* and six other volumes. No contemporary ranks higher in the field of religious education. He is the chairman of the Committee on Militarism in Education.

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK, widely known Methodist clergyman, and professor in Yale University Divinity School, is author of nine volumes on religion. By special appointment of the Methodist General Conference, he contributed a page each week for four years to the various *Christian Advocates* across the country. Few writers in the entire nation have wielded so powerful an influence as an interpreter of the social implications of religion.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT, history editor of *Social Science Abstracts,* official journal of several learned societies, has been associated with THE WORLD TOMORROW for the past six years. Familiar with five languages, he makes it a practice to read carefully the foreign press and, in addition to his editorials and articles, will bring to the attention of our readers significant news neglected by other journals.

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Who's Who

Buell G. Gallagher is chairman of the Fellowship of Socialist Christians.

George Coe is chairman of the Committee on Militarism in Education and has been for many years on the faculty of Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Lucia Trent is a well-known American poet and former co-editor of *Contemporary Vision.*

John C. Bennett is professor in the department of Christian theology at Auburn Theological Seminary.

Idella Purnell is dean of the summer session of the University of Guadelajara, in Mexico.

E. Merrill Root is a member of the faculty of Earlham College.

Francis Henson is a secretary of the student division of the Y. M. C. A.

Norman Thomas has just been chosen as the Socialist Party's candidate in the coming presidential elections.

Paul Jones is student pastor at Antioch College.

Maxwell S. Stewart is an economist on the staff of the Foreign Policy Association.

William H. Holly is one of Chicago's outstanding attorneys.

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XV June, 1932 No. 6

Editorials

Drifting Swiftly Toward the Abyss

Mankind possesses an infinite capacity for stupidity in the presence of impending doom. During the critical days of 1914, following the assassination at Sarajevo, the statesmen of Europe, as subsequent events proved, could hardly have devised a more fatal policy if they had acted consciously as Plenipotentiaries Extraordinary for his Satanic Majesty in executing a diabolical plot to mutilate and destroy humanity.

Eighteen years later, in the same month of June, the nations are again plunging like a torrent toward the precipice, and again the "best minds" of the respective countries are exhibiting blindness, passion, fear and cowardice on an appalling scale. The Lausanne Conference is quickly approaching, without adequate preparation. Indeed, the visible evidence indicates another disastrous deadlock on reparation, debts, and other financial and economic policies. The German Government has served definite notice that reparation payments will not be resumed upon expiration of the Hoover moratorium, and no German administration could remain in office if it advocated resumption of these payments.

On the other hand, the United States Congress has served equally emphatic notice that the debt moratorium will not be extended and that further reductions in debt payments will not be made. The French Government, in particular, is therefore caught in the dilemma of being faced with the necessity of relinquishing reparation receipts from Germany, while continuing debt payments to the United States. No French government can stay in office if it relinquishes reparation and continues to pay war debts. Further efforts on the part of the United States to collect war debts will, therefore, create a highly explosive international crisis.

At an hour when international commerce is being strangled by high tariffs, various governments are drawing the cords tighter and tighter. During these critical days when national treasuries are being bankrupted by exorbitant war payments, and when the race of armaments and national economic rivalries are paralyzing peoples with fear, the disarmament conference at Geneva is being frustrated by national greed and timidity.

The prestige of the League is being dealt deadly blows by Japan's aggression in Manchuria, and by the cynical attitude manifested by the reactionary representatives of Great Britain and France. Never was the League so imperatively needed; never has its influence been so tragically impaired as during the present crisis.

With eight or nine millions of persons in the United States unemployed, and with vast multitudes enduring indescribable misery, financial and political leaders are, for the most part, still blind to the need for radical changes in the present economic order, and are exhausting themselves in the endeavor to keep their heads above water, while vainly hoping that the storm will soon pass. Not only do they look with abhorrence upon communism, but they also fail to recognize the contrast in the socialist method of bringing about the radical transformation of society by pacific processes. In fear and passion, they are endeavoring to preserve the *status quo* by combining drift and repression.

And so our civilization is rushing insanely on toward international and class war. At such a perilous moment, pessimism and optimism alike represent fatal attitudes. We are in very much the position of a patient who goes to a doctor and is told: "You are a very sick man. You should have come to see me ten years ago, as you are now far advanced with tuberculosis. You cannot possibly recover unless you quickly move to a more favorable climate and give yourself complete rest. Even then, you have no guarantee that you will get well." Pessimism on the part of the patient will lead to suicide or paralysis, whereas optimism will lead to neglect and failure to fulfill necessary conditions.

Among the indispensable conditions of recovery for our civilization, we would include the following: cancellation of reparation and war debts; substantial reduction in tariffs; strengthening of the League of Nations and its non-military sanctions; rapid increase in the number of war resisters; drastic disarmament; revision of the Treaty of Versailles; recognition of Soviet Russia; abandonment of imperialistic control of weaker peoples by the Great Powers, including the freedom of India and the Philippines, and the restoration of Manchuria to Chinese rule; adequate federal

relief of the unemployed, and the rapid installation of a comprehensive system of social insurance; public ownership of natural resources and major means of production and distribution, and the rapid expansion of economic planning; a far more equitable distribution of wealth and privilege; less seeking for private profit and more public devotion; less competition and more cooperation.

The maladies that afflict our civilization are far advanced and can be checked only by radical measures. The sand in the glass is running out swiftly, the time at our disposal is short, and pacific solutions must be set rapidly in motion if we are to avoid chaos and disintegration. Pessimism or optimism will lead to unspeakable catastrophe. Only realistic endeavor offers hope of escape from impending doom.

Non-Military Sanctions or War

Mr. David Davies, an outstanding British publicist, in a letter printed in our correspondence columns, pleads for the establishment of an international armed police force. On the other hand, Devere Allen expresses vigorous disagreement with THE WORLD TOMORROW on the question of economic sanctions. These letters deserve careful reading as they represent two significant tendencies within the peace movement. The fact that advocates of peace are so sharply divided in opinion concerning the most effective procedure is proof that the problem is extremely complex and baffling. Dogmatism and intolerance should therefore be reduced to a minimum.

Two conclusions seem inescapable to the editors of this journal. The use of military sanctions by the League of Nations, or any other international agency, is too hazardous to be justified; while, on the other hand, sole reliance upon public opinion and moral pressure may prove to be utterly inadequate in serious crises.

Experience seems to reveal clearly the unwillingness of nations to support the League with armaments. The interests of the competing countries are too antagonistic, and the risks of using armed coercion are too heavy to be accepted by the Great Powers which would be called upon to impose military sanctions. Mr. Davies has himself elsewhere written: "When nations are prepared to refer all disputes, including the revision of treaties, to a world tribunal without any reservations, the International Force can be ushered on the stage, but not before." But not before! Which is to stay that for decades to come the League cannot, in all probability, secure military support from its members. Moreover, military sanctions will be unnecessary when national policies have been transformed to the degree required for the fulfillment of the conditions laid down by Mr. Davies.

Furthermore, the probability of armed resistance is so great that armed coercion is open to grave objections on political and ethical grounds. If there is sufficient unanimity on the part of the Great Powers, other means than armed restraint are available; while sharp divisions among them would make military sanctions too perilous to be adopted. For these and other reasons, we are strongly convinced that the League should cease to envisage the possibility of using armed sanctions, and that therefore the military clauses should be removed from the Covenant. The fear that the application of sanctions against Japan would lead to war has paralyzed the League's action during the Far Eastern crisis.

On the other hand, the evidence seems equally convincing that public opinion alone is inadequate as a means of restraining an aggressive nation. Japan has been condemned almost universally for her outrageous seizure of Manchuria, but she has not been deflected from her course and is now busily engaged in consolidating her control of this vast and valuable Chinese territory. World public opinion has proved to be an ineffective restraint for two primary reasons. The *people* of Japan, as well as the military authorities, are convinced that the action of their government in Manchuria has been highly praiseworthy, indeed obligatory. Therefore, they have no sense of guilt, without which moral condemnation is impotent. Moreover, the press is under such rigorous censorship that the people in general do not realize the extent to which Japan's policy is being denounced throughout the world.

Meanwhile, the Far Eastern situation becomes steadily more ominous. Japanese militarists have crushed all opposition and are ruling by terror. Their reckless aggression is bringing them closer and closer to violent hostilities with Soviet Russia. The flames of militarism in China are spreading alarmingly. The disarmament conference at Geneva is being paralyzed more and more completely. The prestige of the League of Nations is sinking lower and lower. Fears are mounting, and the prospect of war on a terrifying scale has not been so imminent since the armistice.

Persons who oppose the use of economic sanctions by the League are easily able to call attention to the possible dangers of such a policy. There *is* a *possibility* that Japanese militarists would respond to economic pressure by attacking members of the League and other cooperating nations. But it seems wholly *improbable* that they would be so insane as to wage war upon the world.

Objectors to economic sanctions do not place sufficient emphasis upon the fact that Japan has been and still is waging war upon China, and that incalculable suffering has already resulted from the failure of the nations to prevent or terminate Japanese aggression. They cannot successfully deny that the continuation of

Japanese military domination of Manchuria will jeopardize international peace as long as it is maintained, if it does not actually precipitate a general war. Moreover, the arguments which attempt to prove that Japan can be dislodged from control of Chinese territory without resort to economic pressure are not convincing.

Much misunderstanding is being created by the frequent assertion that an embargo against Japanese silk cannot be enforced without the use of armed troops. If the members of the League, supported by the United States, decided to inaugurate such an embargo, all that would be necessary would be for the respective governments to issue orders to their customs officials that no silk from Japan may be admitted at any of their ports until the embargo is lifted. The amount of smuggling would probably be negligible. For various reasons, therefore, we prefer the partial embargo to the complete boycott.

We agree with Devere Allen that the same arguments which are used to justify a boycott can easily be stretched to justify a war. We also agree that the effects of a boycott are or may be quite similar to those of war. Nevertheless, we believe that from the standpoint of psychological and political effect, Mahatma Gandhi's use of the boycott against Britain is preferable to armed hostilities. And the stubbornness with which imperial interests are maintained in India proves that some kind of coercion is necessary.

We do not think that it is politically realistic to refrain from using the boycott and other kinds of coercion because they involve the innocent with the guilty. That is true of any kind of coercion used against any group which requires social discipline. We believe that such an objection reveals a typical weakness of liberalism which tries to fashion political policies from ethical insights gained in individual intra-group relations. If we press the point that the coercion of a group involves the suffering of innocent people, there is no possibility of disciplining a social group. The result will be that the squeamishness of liberals will play into the hands of imperialists and adventurers of every kind who disturb the public peace with impunity.

The French Elections

Whether the victory of the Left groups in the French elections offers any new hope for a peaceful solution of the European problem, and more particularly whether it will save the Geneva disarmament conference from disaster and the Lausanne financial conference from futility, remains to be seen. Something depends upon the kind of government which M. Herriot forms. If he can compose his differences with M. Tardieu, he will undoubtedly try to form a government of the Center, in which case there would be absolutely no difference between the policies of the new government and the present French policies. Should he fail in this and be forced to join with the Socialists in forming a cabinet, we might really look forward to a change in French foreign policy. The Socialists are committed to cancellation, or at least heavy reduction in debts; to disarmament and to European accord in general. To judge from M. Herriot's election speeches, he would have less sympathy with the Socialist program now than he had in 1924, and the Socialists, moreover, are very reluctant to go into a government with him. To understand that reluctance one must remember that there is about as much difference between Herriot and Tardieu as there is between Hoover and Roosevelt. The difference is one between conservatism and a liberalism which tries to differentiate itself from conservatism as little as possible.

One must regard the hope of a change in French foreign policy, therefore, as a desperate hope. It may be realized but the chances are that it will not be.

Murder in Japan

The assassination of the Japanese Prime Minister by young army officers, whose act of violence is regarded in quite a different light than would be the case in the Western world, reveals the desperate character of the conflict between the old feudal aristocracy and the modern business community in Japan. The party government of Japan is regarded as a tool of the business interests, and both its achievements and its vices are criticized by the older feudalism, which still controls the army and the navy. The outlook of the military caste is informed by the old idealism of *bushido,* and its moral and social attitude is as narrowly nationalistic as it is scrupulously honest in its bureaucratic tasks. The newer, capitalistic Japan, on the other hand, is more broadminded and liberal in international affairs but, like all capitalism, inclined to a dishonest manipulation of the functions of government for the benefit of bankers and industrialists.

When the military caste opposes the government, murders high officials and captains of industry and initiates a reign of terror, it gains a larger degree of public support than can be understood from a Western perspective. Many of the people regard them as the true patriots, who are trying to clean the Augean stables of capitalistic graft in government. Their goal is the restoration of feudalism, which, in terms consonant with industrial civilization, means fascism with a slight touch of socialism.

The recent events in Japan reveal how much modern, capitalistic Japan is still dominated by the spiritual traditions of its feudal past. It is the combination of imperialistic ambition, created by the necessities of capitalist industry, and the romantic nationalism of the old feudalism which makes Japan so frantic in the pursuit of its objectives in China. The

two elements in the combination are by no means harmoniously related. The capitalists would prefer to penetrate China with a minimum of coercion. They know the cost of war, and they do not know how the imperialistic ventures upon which Japan has embarked are to be paid for. Nor are they sure that military coercion is the best method of securing China's much needed trade. More realistic in international affairs than the military men, they do not have the same prestige as the latter with the public, partly because age-old traditions are with the feudalists and partly because the feudalists are actuated by a blind patriotic fury, which, whatever its limitations, seems romantic and selfless in comparison with the ambitions of the industrialists. For the time being the militarists clearly have the upper hand, and their narrow and frantic patriotism bodes no good for Japan or for the peace of the world.

The President's New Relief Program

How hopeless it is to expect real unemployment relief from the present administration is revealed once more in the President's new program of relief through further credit extensions. The proposal of Senator Robinson, which prompted the President to offer a new policy of his own, provided at least for a public works program of generous proportions. The President believes that any further extension of public works would be wasteful and artificial. He is probably right if such projects as housing schemes for congested city areas cannot be included. And there is no possibility of the present political masters of the country including a housing program in a public works scheme. That would be regarded as too socialistic. It would interfere too much with building and real estate interests.

As an alternative, the President proposes to extend the powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation so that it would be able to lend three hundred million dollars to states which are incapable of carrying the unemployment relief load without federal help. Furthermore, he would increase the capital of the corporation to three billion dollars, so that it could aid business enterprises to expand their equipment and start their wheels wherever they can prove that anticipated business makes such investment capital a sound financial venture. In other words, the government is going still further into the banking business in the hope of defeating the depression. Since the President admits that capital is available for every legitimate demand, why is it necessary that the government extend credit to business houses? The only answer which would justify the administration proposal is that banking is in the grip of so enervating a fear psychosis that it restricts credit where it ought to expand credit facilities. The implication is that bankers who deal with government funds will not be quite as cautious as private bankers. There may be some slight merit in the idea, but certainly not enough to promise any appreciable relief for a stricken nation. Moreover, the record of the Finance Corporation proves that its control of credit is subject to every kind of abuse. There is no reason why, operating in secrecy as it does, it should not continue to relieve banks of questionable loans to railroads and other industries. The net result of all this "statesmanship" will be that the government will be part owner of the least desirable industrial properties, and millions will be lost in the inevitable liquidation in the coming years.

The Democrats' proposal differs from that of the President's only in calling for a public works program of over a billion dollars. Until it is known just what this involves it is difficult to say whether any real relief for unemployment would be effected by it. Quite obviously the proposal of neither party contemplates a program of federal relief which would be carried by federal taxation. In fact, both programs are designed to divert the rising tide of public sentiment for such a program. If nothing more constructive is done than either party now proposes, the unemployed will go through another hell next winter.

There is probably nothing worse in the President's statement announcing his new plan than his smug assurance that nothing in the project abrogates the policy of placing primary responsibility for relief upon private organizations, municipalities and the states. The President speaks as if this principle of local responsibility were a sacred ideal with which no one must tamper. As a matter of fact, it is the cornerstone of the whole dishonest administration relief policy, and there is nothing in the history and experience of an industrial society which gives it the slightest value as an administrative principle.

Fifty Thousand Patriots in Jail

The grim struggle of the Indian nationalists for autonomy continues unabated. Indeed its pace is being accelerated. Practically all of the Congress leaders have been imprisoned, and it is reported that a total of more than 50,000 non-cooperators have been incarcerated.

The repressive policy of the government grows steadily more rigorous and brutal. A reputable British publication, *India Bulletin,* reports the following as a typical procedure:

> In the biting cold of Jalpaiguri, Mr. Hodson, the Superintendent of Police, of Dacca fame, is carrying on indiscriminate assaults on local volunteers. They are detained in the police station without food, assaulted, and stripped of their clothes. Bucketfuls of cold water are poured on their nude bodies in the cold night, and they are driven out.

A rapidly increasing number of women are becoming active non-cooperators, and many of them are being imprisoned. The Moslem ranks are seriously

divided, and the volume of Mohammedan support for the Congress is gaining substantially. The Untouchables likewise are split into anti-Gandhi and pro-Gandhi factions. Dr. Ambedkar, who represented the Untouchables at the Round Table Conference, has been formally repudiated by the All-India Depressed Classes Association.

The Round Table committees report substantial progress in the drafting of a constitution for an All-India Federation which will include the native states. It seems certain, however, that Mahatma Gandhi and his followers will refuse to accept the proposed constitution because it fails to grant the minimum degree of autonomy which they are demanding. The continuance of the civil disobedience campaign will make impossible the effective operation of the new administration. The British Government, unfortunately, is not yet prepared to grant real autonomy, with the result that the struggle will continue indefinitely.

Headlines have heralded new outbreaks of Hindu-Moslem rioting and murder. This religious hostility is unquestionably a serious obstacle in the pathway of Indian freedom. But its relative significance is being grossly exaggerated. The New York *Times* correspondent recently quoted authoritative figures showing that during the three years of upheaval—1928, 1929 and 1930—throughout India the total number of deaths from communal, industrial and other disturbances was 868. How many murders occurred in the United States during these three years, and what was the number of fatal casualties from automobile accidents?

The Troubles in Kentucky

The refusal of the authorities to permit a Civil Liberties Union delegation to enter Bell County, Kentucky, following outrages upon the delegation of Arkansas students and upon the group of investigators headed by Waldo Frank, proves the urgent necessity of the senatorial investigation of the Kentucky coal areas which the Costigan-Cutting bill proposes. Here is a community in which martial law prevails and civil rights have been abrogated.

In some respects the situation in Kentucky is no worse than in other coal areas, particularly in the unorganized fields. Miners in all these areas live on pitifully low wages, work only a day or two in the week, are unemployed by the hundreds of thousands, live in company-owned towns and houses, are evicted from their homes when they join a union, are prevented from carrying on strike activities, since every village is company-owned; are cheated in the company store and by the company weighman, and consequently live in a state of virtual peonage. The only difference between the Kentucky and the other areas is that communist activities have centered attention upon the Kentucky field and have tempted the operators to use more violence than they have employed when dealing with the more quiescent United Mine Workers.

While the threat of violence implied in communist propaganda has justified the violence of the operators in the minds of the badly scared middle-class communities of Kentucky, it must not be supposed that they would use less violence upon non-communistic labor efforts, provided these efforts were really militant and promised success. The situation is simply that the operators are determined to prevent organization of the miners at all costs because they themselves exist by selling coal at lower rates than those at which union coal can be offered upon the market. The fact that their policy not only debases the living standards of thousands of unorganized miners to unbelievably low levels but also offers a threat to the standards of all union fields which must compete with their cheaper coal, does not deter them from following a policy of ruthless devotion to their own interests.

Nothing less than a senatorial investigation will help to establish civil rights in Kentucky. But something more than such an investigation is necessary to cure the coal industry from the ills from which it suffers. The coal industry is the weakest link in the scheme of private ownership. It is the point where public ownership and control is most logical and necessary.

Notes on Politics and Economics

President Nicholas Murray Butler's proposal for a new liberal political party is not without merit, but on the whole it is about as realistic as all the various "challenges" to capitalism to reform itself.

If repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment is to be the first plank in Butler's platform, we suppose he will be able to enlist Mr. Raskob among his cohorts. Perhaps that gentleman will even contribute a part of the five million dollars which he made in 1929 by participating in a stock market pool.

Such money as this Raskob profit and the seven million dollars which Warner Brothers "earned" by selling their own stock at a high level and buying it back at a lower level, after their company failed to pay a dividend, is the kind which we are asked not to tax lest we rob our industrial leaders of their incentive and destroy their initiative.

The heavily taxed Germans must add another burden to their taxation load in order to pay for the $750,000,000 unemployment fund which their 6,000,000 unemployed require. The poor Germans support their unemployed, while rich America permits hers to starve, for fear of destroying their initiative. We do worry a lot about the initiative of both the rich and the poor.

Christians and Radical Social Change

BUELL G. GALLAGHER

THE religion of Jesus is not inherently radical. Neither is it inherently conservative. Certainly it is not the strange and astounding compound of cowardice and compromise which enables contortionists to carry water on both shoulders. These terms which attempt to catalog religion as intrinsically connected with a particular shade of socio-political opinion are categories which apply only derivatively, not primarily. They describe phenomena which are incidental to the main job of religion, which is concerned with what Jesus called the Kingdom of God, an affirmative condition of men, affecting their relationships to one another, and therefore to God. The attitude of Christianity to the social order, when religion is true to the emphases of its founder, is not an intrinsic factor, but a function of its major purpose. That does no mean that it is unimportant, but it does mean that the attitude of the Christian to the social order is functional, not basic. A tree growing in a fissure may incidentally split the rock; but its major purpose is life and growth.

This point is worth noticing at the outset because it prevents our discussion from being wrecked on the reef which catches many who begin by trying to show that Jesus belongs to their particular political camp, or endorses their economic theories. There are those who claim that Jesus was a member of a carpenter's union, although no one has yet produced the authenticated union card. There are others who jumble the writings of the apostle with the sayings of the Master, and make Jesus a counter-revolutionist issuing the command, "Obey your masters!" Primarily Jesus cannot be claimed by any faction; although derivatively he is claimed to support the good in various camps—but only with partial plausibility. He does not fit easily into the molds of Radical, Conservative, Liberal, Nonpartisan, Socialist—all terms describing activities and attitudes which are incidental to his main purposes, and therefore less than adequate to describe him. It is possible to make a consistent picture of Jesus in terms of such categories only by selecting the portions of the gospel record which are in accord with one's particular prejudice, ignoring, expurgating or minimizing everything which tends to disprove one's thesis, and using one's imagination liberally. The error lies in the assumption that Jesus was concerned primarily with his attitude toward the *status quo*. Quite the contrary, he seems to have taught his disciples that their relation to the established order was a matter of supreme unconcern to them. They were to seek just one thing, and all else was to be subsidiary—"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God." It is the pearl of great price for which a man shall give everything he has. It is the sole and supreme concern.

At this point another error rears its head. Many have noted the emphasis of Jesus upon the importance of the Kingdom, and, in their misinterpretation of his teaching brought about by fastening upon a half truth, they have fallen into the twin errors of asceticism and vacuity. Starving the body for the alleged benefit of the soul, the ascetic has treated the things of the world as beneath contempt. Correspondingly, the speech of the vacuous evangelist has been replete with glittering generalities, but devoid of practical content or terrestrial application. Not so Jesus. He declared that the Kingdom was the pearl of great price; but he also demanded that no man hypocritically attempt reconciliation to God when he was conscious of any debt to men. The Kingdom is definitely other-worldly in its standards, motivation, and objectives; but it is to be worked out with the stuff of this world. It is not of this world, but in it. One doubts, therefore, whether the attitude of the ascetic who flees from the world, the flesh, and the devil, or the fulsome verbosity of the other-worldly evangelist who condemns man and the earth to perdition and casts covetous eyes toward the pearly gates, can be called more nearly authentic representations of the religion of Jesus than are the party cries of Left and Right and the smug complacency of the Center, when these partisans drape their respective colors about the effigy of Christ-according-to-us, and call upon all Christians to follow the dummies they carry.

THE authentic teaching of Jesus seems to be both an insistence upon the absolute supremacy of the Kingdom and an insistence that there be fundamental changes in the life attitudes of men who enter. He preached the good news of the Kingdom; and because of it he attacked the individual and social habits and life-patterns which hindered the good life in the Kingdom. It was said that he "stirred up the people." Perhaps he did. He was accused of disloyalty to Caesar. Certainly he is not recorded as having said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are God's." He upset the dealings of certain profiteers, told one young man that he must sell all he had and give to the poor, and repeatedly dwelt on the difficulty with which the rich should enter the Kingdom. He began his preaching ministry in Nazareth by citing a prophetic message

of peculiar power and social passion. Yet those who deduce from the actions and sayings of Jesus that he was "a radical," fail to see that he was driving at something far deeper. It is true that Jesus did things which cannot be characterized as anything but radical; but that was not his reason for doing them. His conduct was determined by the imperative necessity of opening the way to the Kingdom. The religion of Jesus is concerned basically with the Kingdom of God; its concern with social change is instrumental.

If this interpretation of the religion of Jesus is disappointing to ardent young revolutionists who like to think of the Carpenter of Nazareth as a fire-eating young proletarian; if this portrait of Jesus seems to the radical to be a distortion which makes him too congenial to the conservative; the only reply to be made is that this is the way the writer sees the truth. The question is not, "How would I like Jesus to have been?" but rather, "How was he?" And although this interpretation of Jesus may be subject to correction, it is not open to the accusation that it is a deliberate perversion of historical facts to fit contemporary preconceptions. One has heard radicals say that if Christianity would not support radicalism, then we ought by all means to get a religion that would. I disagree. If necessary, I am willing to jeopardize the cause of a given social movement when it appears to run contrary to the purposes of that Kingdom which is the heart of the religion of Jesus.

HOWEVER, I suspect that this complete insistence upon the primacy of the Kingdom will neither dampen the ardor of radicals nor weaken their cause, when the implications are fully understood. On the contrary, in addition to strict adherence to historical facts, there are at least four clear gains in this interpretation. It increases the leverage for radical action, and widens its scope; at the same time it delivers radical action from the petty vices of provincialism and redeems it from being purely negative. It increases leverage; for it means that religion, or men of religion, can be conservative only when society is perfect or when the methods of change proposed would probably make the situation worse in the long run. In the first instance it is clear that no professing Christian can be a conservative when he looks at the contemporary mess. In the latter instance, religion may conceivably be more conservative in effect by being more radical than the rejected movements in providing methods of change which reach the roots of disease and build healthily. Moreover, the leverage for radical transformation is tremendously increased by the fact that events and institutions are judged by an ethical standard not self-secreted but external to them, and by the impelling power of a dynamic that is divine.

This interpretation of Jesus which makes the Kingdom primary in his religion widens the scope of action. Mere radical action on a secular basis may conceivably rest content with work on selected aspects of society, concentrating on specific issues; whereas the Christian, although he may concentrate at any given time upon certain aspects merely as a matter of strategy, must aim to redeem the whole of life. There can be no segmentation.

Thirdly, such an interpretation puts an end to petty provincialism, the tyranny of the present, slavish obedience to the particular star which is in ascendence, by fitting one's efforts into the broad sweep of time and introducing the patience of the Eternal. One is not then blown about by every wind of doctrine and has the experience of the ages to prevent his scurrying down blind alleys or flying off at tangents long since tried and found fruitless.

Lastly, this conception redeems radical action from being purely negative, because it has a great, positive goal toward which it is striving. The basis for action is the effort to construct a new and better society, not merely the impulse to tear down the old. It is possible for a non-religious radical movement to be constructive; it is impossible for the religion of Jesus to be anything else.

"Yes," someone says, "but how do we know that the present order is altogether without hope? True, we're far from perfect, but we're a lot better off than men were five centuries ago. We have bathtubs and electricity and sanitation and the radio. We are getting better. Progress is slow; but it is best to be sure where we are going, and not to get too hot under the collar." The only reply, short of profanity, which is emotionally adequate to counter the smugness of this complacency which endures with equanimity the tribulation of others, is the remark common among street urchins which mingles skepticism, scorn and derision—"Oh yeah?" Any man who fatuously claims that we live in Utopia, or that we are gradually and inevitably ascending the escalator of evolution, is either an idiot or a rogue. The organized murder of the World Massacre of 1914-1918, the ethical bankruptcy of the economic order as revealed in our total inability to stop the avalanche of depression or to think intelligently about matters fundamentally remedial, the breakdown of social conscience as evidenced in apathy toward the festering sore of civic and federal corruption which is eating like a cancer into the vitals of the body politic—these are not the usually accepted manifestations of the City of God. Men in positions of responsibility and power who know the facts of the present situation seem to be the last ones to claim that the millenium has come. They are strangely silent—or they modestly suggest that it is best not to change toboggans while going down the slide. Events have made the lions meek enough to lie down with the

lambs; but they are too stubborn to follow the little child. The X-ray of Christian realism has revealed the inside of the whited sepulchre, filled with dead men's bones and all manner of rottenness.

THERE is scarcely need to paint in detail the contrast which is all to familiar to anyone who reads both the New Testament and the daily press. The painful fact of experience—I testify, and so do you—is that in the world in which we are thrust it is practically impossible to be Christian in more than a few of the more superficial aspects of living; to be fundamentally Christian and to continue living is impossible. Perhaps that is why there was a cross on Golgotha. The absence of Golgothas today does not indicate the arrival of the Kingdom; it merely vindicates the judgment that followers of Jesus are mostly Petrine, following "afar off."

But if the forces of religion do not become active in the reform and regeneration of society, we are likely to witness another kind of change which will not necessarily make things better. Granted that the present order of society is sub-christian, if not antichristian, yet it does not follow that every conceivable change will automatically make it more nearly Christian. The change must be one which is fundamentally corrective, not superficial. This is one of the many faults of communism. It is not radical enough. It includes too much of the old leaven of the Pharisees of Capitalism in the new loaf. It would break the present crust, and substitute the doubtful dough of class violence for the stale stuff of capitalist imperialism, but without improving the quality of the loaf appreciably. The sour yeast of violence puffs the biscuits of both communist and capitalist. The Bread of Life cannot be kneaded with the Leaven of Death.

Look for a moment at the contrasting attitudes of capitalism, communism and Christianity. In method, they differ sharply. Communism seeks to establish itself through threat of violence; capitalism defends itself with the same venom of brutality; while Christianity would, if it were the religion of Jesus, work through the positive affirmation of heroic love, in nonviolent ways. It is not claimed that the violence, either contemplated or actual, is all on the side of the communists. They are merely matching capitalist strength with the tool which is used against them. The clear supremacy of the Christian standard is seen in the way it detaches the followers of Jesus from the use of means which cannot possibly bring Christian ends. For the tools used determine the nature of the product. Means are regulative of ends; methods are the warp and woof of the new fabric. If they are rotten, the cloth may be fair to look upon, but it is fundamentally worthless.

The religion of Jesus is at this point more conservative than the most conservative capitalism, in that it really conserves the values of personal integrity and human brotherhood which the violence of capitalism destroys; and it is more radical than the most radical communism, in that it eradicates the virus of violence which will breed festering sores in any state built with the tools of destruction. To Jesus there was no person who was not a child of God. Radicals need to remember that. They are fond of pointing out that Jesus came to help the poor and the downtrodden, to "seek and to save that which was lost." They need to recognize that the capitalist may be at least as much "lost" as the proletarian. It is fundamentally contrary to the religion of Jesus to treat any individual, regardless of his status in life, as anything less than of infinite value. Men cannot be tools. The radical may object that to have compassion for the capitalist is to muddy the issue and to delay the coming of justice and equity. The reply is that justice and equity cannot grow from the soil of present injustice, except they be watered with penitence and cultivated with sacrifice. To sow again the dragon's teeth of hatred and revenge is to reap the harvest of an army of oppressors no less objectionable than their predecessors.

Why should Christians seek radical social change? Not because Jesus was "a radical." That is too simple to be true. We seek radical social change because his way of life is radically different from the ways of living which are possible within the fabric of contemporary society. The limitations of sub-christian environment inhibit and nullify our efforts at Christian living. Inevitably, the effort to live in the Kingdom in this world, the attempt to take seriously our Lord's counsel of perfection, the endeavor to be within that Realm of God which is "among us," will lead us to differ radically from the prevailing sub-christian society. It should be a matter of high indifference whether we are dubbed radical or conservative, so long as we feel ourselves drawn by the irresistible power of that silent figure lifted up on Golgotha to draw all men to him.

Never Again

Without reservation or equivocation, I say now that this pulpit, while I stand in it, will never give its support to war, to any war whatsoever, whether called just or unjust! I would as little support a war to crush Hitlerism as a war for the strengthening of Jewish claims in Palestine. Though I bore no arms, I gave the fullest measure of my private and public support to the United States and the allied nations in the World War. I will never do so again.—*Dr. Stephen S. Wise, April 17th at Carnegie Hall.*

Is Coercion Ever Justifiable?

KIRBY PAGE

THIS generation threatens to destroy its own choicest values by the reckless use of violence. Greed creates fear, and fear resorts to violence. If life consists chiefly in grabbing for self, family, nation or race; and if competition and strife are encouraged and stimulated on every level; and if man's genius is prostituted to the search for annihilating weapons; and if the units of combat become more titanic in size and power; then the doom of our civilization is imminent. The futility and menace of ruthlessness are everywhere evident. Hanging and electrocution cannot hold back the crime wave; military and naval preparedness cannot afford security, and only accentuates the danger; suppression of civil liberties and resort to intimidation and brutality cannot preserve property rights and safeguard human values in industry. Urgently and desperately, this generation needs an effective alternative for violence.

Jesus' experience of God and his attitude toward men offer an inestimable contribution to modern society. To the degree that men live every day as good members of God's Home, greed and violence disappear. Does this mean, then, that Tolstoy was right in maintaining that every use of force and coercion is contrary to the spirit of Jesus and therefore immoral? That all depends upon whether or not coercion is necessarily a violation of the family spirit. If the answer is in the affirmative, the only consistent philosophy for a follower of Jesus is that of anarchism, and the only logical procedure that of withdrawal from all responsibility for and participation in organized society.

But the evidence does not drive us to such a conclusion. It is possible that coercion may be administered in such a way as to prove restraining and redemptive. Wherever in a home there is immaturity, lack of self-control, and anti-social stimuli, coercion may be necessary in order to safeguard the other members of the family, and to prevent remorse for irreparable wrongdoing. To say that restraint administered in love and with the welfare of all concerned vividly in mind is immoral, is to reduce society to anarchy and chaos.

For many decades to come certain criminals will have to be restrained by force if society is to be safeguarded and they are to be kept from evildoing. The victims of greed and exploitation will never get justice solely by relying upon the vision and generosity of those who hold power and seek their own gain. Power is blinding and corrupting and causes the slave-owner to imagine that it is his duty to perpetuate slavery. The victims of imperialism, in a world where national egotism and greed are rampant, must resort to coercive action if they are to secure freedom and justice. The British imperialist is conscientious in his determination to continue British rule in India, and Japanese militarists honestly consider themselves to be the saviors of Manchuria. Unless effective non-violent means of coercion can be devised and utilized, the victims of injustice will, in blindness and desperation, take up weapons of violence. In our kind of world, to rely upon anarchy and inaction is to turn the reins over to violence.

WITH this dilemma in mind, let us turn again to Jesus' concept of God and his attitude toward wrongdoers. The God of Jesus is no soft, flabby sentimentalist. Jesus' picture of the judgment scene is terrifying in its severity. His own condemnation of the scribes and Pharisees is one of the most rigorous on record. His indignation flames in the presence of callous hypocrisy and cruelty. His whole life is a burning denunciation of iniquity and an indomitable resistance to evil.

If the family circle is to be extended beyond blood relatives and made to embrace men of all classes and races, effective social organization must be created and maintained by mutual goodwill, supported in emergencies and abnormal instances by ethical and effective restraints. Here we are confronted with one of the most urgent problems of our day. How can society restrain criminals, and restore them to right relations with their fellows, without vengeance in the form of a noose or an electric chair? How can the workers utilize the strike and other forms of economic coercion, and at the same time avoid hatred and violence? How can Mahatma Gandhi exert sufficient pressure through non-violent non-coöperation to secure freedom for India, without stimulating hatred and resorting to violence? How can the League of Nations bring sufficient moral, diplomatic and financial pressure to bear upon Japan to secure withdrawal of her troops from Manchuria and the restoration of political control to China, without precipitating war? Failure to find answers to these questions will insure chaos and warfare.

Our difficulty comes, of course, in deciding where ethical coercion ends and unethical violence begins. The only person who is able to escape from this dilemma is the complete anarchist who repudiates every form of restraint and compulsion—and such a man has no solution to offer for the imminently menacing problems of the hour. All other persons are obliged to draw the line somewhere, and orderly progress depends upon

the intellectual keenness and ethical sensitiveness with which the situation is confronted.

None of the three possible ways of dealing with social injustice can entirely prevent or remove human suffering. Resistance by violence tends to increase and intensify suffering; inaction or failure to exert effective restraint perpetuates the misery of the victims of crime or exploitation; non-violent coercion likewise often results in suffering. We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion that, in an imperfect and developing world, suffering is inescapable. The policy of wisdom is to use that method which involves a minimum of suffering and which offers a maximum of redemption.

NO method of dealing with crime can entirely eliminate suffering. Ruthlessness and capital punishment, on the one hand, and ineffective restraint, on the other, produce terrible havoc. The imprisonment of a criminal likewise causes suffering to his family and to the man himself. If, however, during the period of separation from society, redemptive processes—physical, educational, moral and spiritual—are brought to bear upon the evildoer, the result may be deliverance from anti-social tendencies or habits, and the restoration of the individual to his family and to society.

Failure to restrain greed and exploitation produces much misery, as does also resort to violent class warfare. The industrial strike likewise may and frequently does cause intense suffering, both to the public and to the strikers. But a non-violent strike may enable the exploited workers to gain more justice and fuller liberation from degradation. In spite of the fact that workers are often goaded to the point of desperation by misery, oppression, and the violent tactics used by employers, violence on their part seems ineffective and unethical. Likewise a strike that results in direct and inescapable starvation seems indefensible.

Imperialist powers are blinded by tradition, prestige and self-interest, and vainly imagine that it is for the good of humanity that they should perpetuate their rule and continue to bear "the white man's burden." Their assumption of superiority and the contemptuous way in which they often treat the "natives" is humiliating and degrading. Sensitive Indians, for example, are at the breaking point, and regard continued British domination as intolerable. Violent revolution is the historic method of handling such an inflammable situation. Mahatma Gandhi's campaign of non-violent non-coöperation is undoubtedly causing much suffering, both in England and in India. It is to be observed, however, that the additional unemployed in British textile areas are not starving, but constitute an extra burden upon the unemployment fund. To the extent that the people of India will follow Gandhi in refraining from hatred and violence, on the one hand, and refusing all coöperation with the British Government, on the other, they will be able to exert effective non-violent pressure upon Great Britain. The strike and the non-violent boycott seem to be more ethical than acquiescence in an evil situation or the use of violence.

The continued military and political control of Manchuria by Japan will inflame Chinese nationalists and fan the flames of militarism and communism, thus causing terrible misery. The use of moral, diplomatic and financial sanctions by the League of Nations would undoubtedly produce suffering, but effective pressure can be exerted in ways that do not cause starvation. Eventual warfare on a terrible scale between Japan and China cannot be avoided if the former is permitted to seize Manchuria and rule it indefinitely. Nationalism is sweeping China and another ominous Alsace-Lorraine will be created. Yet Japan will not relinquish control unless coerced by the League of Nations and the United States. Moral condemnation, diplomatic boycott, and an embargo against Japanese silk would be sufficient to compel Japan to relinquish military and political control of Manchuria, with less suffering and more possibilities of a pacific settlement of the whole controversy than can be the case if no effective international restraint is offered, or if violent hostilities are resorted to.

WHAT, then, is the meaning of all this? Is coercion ever consistent with the family spirit, and may it be administered in a manner that is constructive and redemptive, rather than destructive and debasing? I am fully persuaded that the answer is in the affirmative. If this is sound reasoning, Jesus can aid us at three points: by helping us to avoid hatred, to repudiate violence, and to increase our willingness to accept whatever suffering comes from this combination of refusing to submit to evil and of refraining from hatred and violence.

In this setting the cross of Calvary assumes new meaning. Jesus refuses to accept the *status quo,* with all its injustice and misery. He refrains from hatred and violence, but attacks entrenched iniquity with the utmost vigor and abandon, thereby incurring the relentless hostility which results in his own crucifixion and the ruthless persecution of his followers. That is to say, acquiescence and inactivity would have been safer for him, but would not have removed the misery of the people. On the other hand, his non-violent assaults upon evildoing causes his own early death and produces terrible havoc among his friends. He lives every day as a good member of God's Home, and is nailed to a tree.

The problem confronting present day followers of Jesus can thus be summarized: If we acquiesce in the presence of injustice and misery, we not only fail to remove exploitation and poverty, but we abdicate in favor of those who seek deliverance by violence. On the other hand, if we offer effective non-violent resistance, we may bring suffering upon both evildoers and

victims. If we are able to keep ourselves free from bitterness and vindictiveness, our procedure in every situation will be determined by our judgment as to which type of persuasiveness and which method of non-violent restraint are under the circumstances most ethical and most effective. We will then go forward, even if the journey leads to a cross. Without suffering there can be no redemption.

If we are to oppose evildoers, especially if we are to make use of non-violent methods of restraining wrongdoers, we must not only refrain from animosity, but must reveal our devotion to mankind by exhibiting a willingness to endure suffering, rather than submit to the exploitation of our fellows or retaliate with weapons of violence. The menace inherent in any form of coercion is greatly reduced if those who act in behalf of the victims of oppression voluntarily submit to suffering. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, furnishes the most illuminating contemporary example of vicarious suffering. He is rigorously resisting British rule because of the deep conviction that freedom is essential to self-respect and the removal of the scourges which afflict the Indian people. To an amazing degree he has risen above hatred and enmity. In seeking liberty for his country, he utterly repudiates violence and war as methods of attaining the passionately desired end. Joyously he suffers imprisonment for his cause.

So we gain illumination as to the immensity of Jesus' contribution in setting before us a vision of the new society, and indicating ways and means of bringing it to pass. By his own experience of God and his estimate of man, by his emphasis upon and practice of brotherhood, by his repudiation of hatred and violence, while attacking with audacity deeply entrenched iniquities, and by his vicarious suffering on the cross, Jesus awakens, challenges and inspires us to take up our cross and follow in his sacrificially redemptive steps. Thus we are saved and thus society must be redeemed.

The Social Value of Prayer and Worship

GEORGE A. COE

HAS the devotional life (a term here used to cover both private prayer and corporate worship) an unchanging base of its own on which to act with reference to social changes? Probably most persons would answer, "Yes." Though the earth should heave, and though the mountains should be cast into the midst of the sea, the heart that is stayed upon God would know no change—so they think. That is, the meaning of life would be unaltered; aspiration would not shift its direction; the objectives of religious consecration would be ever the same; what is recognized as divine in heaven or upon earth would show no shadow cast by turning.

If this view were true, prayer and worship would exert an undeviating pressure in one and the same social direction; at a time of social crisis we should need only to intensify our devotions, not to revise them. But it is not true. Religious devotion does not merely act upon social change; it is itself included within social change. A truism of history, yet to become a truism for our prayers, is that ideas of God and of the divine will are dependent for their content, as are other ideas, upon time, place, and circumstance. Prayer, according to its social setting, sanctifies the crowning of kings "by divine right," or the inauguration of presidents chosen by popular franchise; it relies upon God for security for wealth wrung from the poor, or it cries out for redress for the same poor; it beseeches one and the same God for victory of the Allies over the Germans, and of the Germans over the Allies. Our devotions, that is, are in part a phase of our political, economic, racial, and other social habits. When these habits move, our devotions change; when our devotions change, it is a sign that these social habits are being modified.

That both private prayer and corporate worship might have a creative part in social reconstruction I am ready to maintain. But they cannot perform this function until they incorporate into themselves a principle of religious self-criticism and religious reconstruction that has no wide acceptance. A deeply religious orthodox Russian, one of the *emigres* who had been dispossessed by the revolution, once said to me that in the days of the terror their ancient God had been veritably their refuge and strength; that communion with him had sustained their spirits through otherwise unendurable horrors; that now in their exile and poverty he still was their comforter, and that they confidently looked to him to restore them to their native land, and to re-establish the rule of the czars. "You Americans cannot understand this last, I know," he added, "but the empire is a vital part of our religion." No, Americans do not readily understand how this can be so, yet their own religion commonly has a parallel attachment to an American economic and political system. As the God of Russian orthodoxy was and is the refuge and strength of White Russians, so conventional American Christians have been accustomed to regard their God as the giver and defender of capitalist "prosperity," and as the ultimate ground and support of the capitalist conception of ethics.

NOW that the futilities of capitalist industrialism are so plain that even he who runs may read; now that the world begins to realize that capitalism necessarily sets brother against brother; now that the imperativeness of reconstruction is dawning upon large masses of the population, the question for us is whether private prayer and corporate worship will turn upon themselves, search out the points at which they are themselves implicated in the defects of capitalist society, and repent for being what they are. The essential prerequisite for social creativeness through prayer and worship is a repentant religion. We have not to apply a religion that we have, but to acquire a better religion.

"What!" someone will exclaim, "Is not a religion of love to God and to man sufficiently social?" The reply is that this is not the religion that we practice. We assent to this glorious formula; we have a sentimental attachment to a vague ideal that it suggests; but our real religion is revealed, not in our assents nor in our sentiments, but in our strenuosities. Surely no one would claim that any widely practiced prayer and worship are as yet undergoing the birth-pains of a new economic order.

Repentance upon a scale sufficiently large to be important is by no means out of the question, however. It has begun already. To an extent that was unpredictable even as late as the nineties, the pulpit and religious bodies are speaking prophetically—that is, in terms of economic-ethical revolution. The complacently amiable God of the Victorian era is no longer possible except to belated bourgeois minds; instead, we are facing the exclusive alternatives of either a God of the kind of love that includes social justice or no God at all. The devotional phrases of yesterday, if we continue to use them, either take on meanings that are more and more remotely symbolical, or else they sound increasingly hollow.

The ecclesiastical situation is complex and partly obscure, but this, at least, is true: A vigorous and by no means small minority of both clergy and laity are conscious that they have come to a parting of the ways in their own piety, and that the point at which the roads diverge concerns the place of human personality within economic and political society. Further, the pressure of this issue is producing religious unrest and longing in many who do not define the source of their distress. Some, noting the current decline in "God-consciousness," fly to metaphysical theology for relief. Theistic anxiety has become one mark of current piety. Others betake themselves to the inner sanctuary, there, in individual isolation, apart from our history-making crisis, to cultivate a sense of God's presence. A still larger number build new sanctuaries of stone, wherein, by means of enriched liturgies, they seek a Godward uplift. All three of these types are endeavoring to resolve a strain that they do not diagnose; they are offering solutions for a problem that they have not defined; they are in danger of unintentionally substituting an escape from the problem for a solution of it.

IF theology desires to be of significance for the devotional life, let it plunge into the inner, ethical dynamics of our social crisis. There it will find the main causes of the obscuration of men's sense of the divine. A society that is indulging in war and war-producing policies, practicing economic injustice in the name of ethical right, and maintaining political systems that assist the few to exploit the many will not acquire from metaphysics anything more than a pale and anæmic faith. Unless something divine be found at the core of our experience when we deal with these social conditions, our theism will contribute nothing vital to prayer or worship. O, you metaphysicians! If there be a God, he is in Harlan County, Kentucky. Show us him, that we may worship! If you cannot find him in Harlan County, your talk about the universe in general will not bring us to our knees.

What a pity it would be if the inner sanctuary, and likewise the church built with hands, should become a refuge from the strains of society instead of being a mode of entering more fully and more healthfully into them! But who can doubt that this danger is upon us? The movement for "the enrichment of worship" and "the return to the Gothic," the most conspicuous current development in American Protestantism, is particularly open to question. What is the relation of this movement to our social emergency? Do we here behold religion entering into social change, creating social change, transforming therefore the content of devotional thinking, and redirecting religious emotion? Is there repentance for being religious in the sense which yesterday gave to religion? Who worships in these temples by means of these liturgies? Are the persons who most smart under injustice sitting in the pews and speaking from the pulpit? Who pays the added expense of our enriched worship, and how did the givers of the money obtain it? What spiritual relation among men is established or confirmed by giving and receiving this money? Whose hands quarried from the hillside the stones that compose these walls? Was there any experience of God in the quarrying, dressing, and putting into place of these stones?

THERE are some who say that we must get acquainted with God, and through this acquaintance receive power before we can be ready to take up the human problem. But this assertion of a "before" rests upon a misconception. Everything depends upon the *kind* of God we have in mind when we pray, and the kind of God never is determined for us in advance of our acquaintance with men, but in and through this acquaintance. It is, for example, through intercourse

of races with one another that we first become genuinely monotheistic; it is when we vividly realize the contrasts in human life that the concept of God first acquires ethical edge. Thus it was with the social prophets of Israel; thus it must be with us. The motive-power for social reconstruction will not come to us ready-made out of the empyrean; it will have to be generated by resolutely keeping our eyes upon human actualities and the possibilities towards which they point. Here is one function of the devotional life. When we practice it, our faith in God ceases to be a mere metaphysical accompaniment of our endeavors after justice; it becomes identical with our absorption in the love that is also justice. In no other way can our devotions acquire either the social focus or the social motivation that can make them effective in social reconstruction.

The power of religion and the inspiration that is divine manifest themselves in a sustained ethical radicalism. The devotional life, appropriately directed, certainly can help generate this radicalism. It can lead us beyond both selfishness and fear. We then act in our brief day as if infinite time were at our disposal, never admitting that any defeat ruins our cause. We match our weakness against might, and even in the infancy of our enterprise we sing:

"He has done mighty deeds with his arm,
He has routed the proud-minded,
He has dethroned monarchs and exalted the poor,
He has satisfied the hungry with good things, and sent the rich away empty-handed."*

What has now been said amounts to this: The social function of the devotional life is not to prevent change, not to act as a brake upon it, not to soften the shock of it nor to relieve us of its difficulties, but to initiate the spirit of change, and to stimulate us to attempt and never give up great changes—as great as the plain implications of the attitudes and words of Jesus—all in the spirit of a communion with man that recognizes itself as at the same time a communion with God.

One specific function, here implied, needs to be made explicit. The lag in our spiritual life is due mainly to the fact that would-be pious people, like the rest of mankind, are in the habit of seeking power over men by means of possessions. This kind of power is inherently unethical, for it tends always and everywhere to depress personality. Relations between thee and me should be determined solely by the values that we two can perceive as actual or potential in each other as persons and in others whom our conduct may affect. All impersonal resources whatsoever should become instruments of a fellowship like this. How can we accept anything short of this and still count ourselves religious? Such a goal requires social engineering, scientifically guided, but it requires also something even more difficult—renunciation of what we are accustomed to regard as just privileges, powers and hopes. We must accept what looks like economic insecurity; we must declass ourselves, frankly aligning ourselves with the discontented whom the contented despise and fear; we must individually choose the shame and the hardship that this course implies. Private prayer then becomes a stern individual discipline, and corporate worship a stern discipline of the church.

Here, in "the cross," and nowhere else we shall find the desired renewal of the now hesitant and vanishing sense of God's presence in the affairs of earth. Stern discipline, but a fountain of joy. For the call is not to ascetic negation, but to creation; not to drop things from our hands, but to lay hands upon them more firmly than ever, compelling them, at last, to become instruments of a world-wide, happy fellowship.

"Here is thy footstool and there rest thy feet where live the poorest, and lowliest, and lost.

When I try to bow to thee, my obeisance cannot reach down to the depth where thy feet rest among the poorest, and lowliest, and lost."*

* * * * *

"Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open thine eyes and see, thy God is not before thee! He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil!"*

Rich Child

SHE lives in a mansion of towering stone
With an idiot child of her blood and bone.

The long gold hands of the sun reach through
His toy-filled nursery room of blue.

His gaping idiot eyes look down
On the loveliest garden plot in town.

At dusk his spindling legs curl up
In sheets as soft as a buttercup.

She takes him driving through windy hills
And gathers him scores of daffodils.

She walks him down her quiet street,
Keeping pace with his rickety beat.

I haven't the heart to pass her way
With my child bright as an April day.

LUCIA TRENT

* From Goodspeed's translation.

* From Tagore's "Gitanjali," Nos. 10 and 11.

Religion: Opiate or Stimulant?

JOHN C. BENNETT

CHRISTIANS who are driven by the teachings of Jesus to seek radical social change are haunted by the fact that the great Christian Churches move so slowly and accommodate themselves so easily to the *status quo*. One must face the fact that in relation to social change the Christian tradition is ambiguous: that it creates prophets and rebels and that it sanctifies and buttresses the existing institutions of nationalism and property. The social radical outside the Church sees only one side of the picture, and his soul is at rest as he condemns the Christian tradition. The social radical inside the Church sees both sides, and his soul is tormented. Often he is tempted to abandon the Christian tradition and the Church but he is held back because he believes that the elements within the tradition which make for social change represent the essence of Christianity and cannot be found without loss anywhere else. Is he right?

In attempting to answer that question I am going to analyze the Christian tradition with this problem in mind and suggest the elements which are unfavorable and those which are favorable to radical social change.

First, let us consider the unfavorable elements in the Christian tradition:

1. The absoluteness of the Christian ethic has led many of the most sensitive souls in each generation to give up the attempt to change society at the cost of compromise. Only a few are directly influenced by this motive but they are among the best. Moreover, those few have set the fashion for whole churches. It is an ironical fact that those who in this second-hand way are moved by the absoluteness of the Christian ethic make the most serious compromises with the world. The capitulation of the Lutheran Church to the state is a case in point. Today it is the absoluteness of the love ethic of Jesus which prevents many Christians from supporting a class-conscious labor movement or from participating in the pressure which is necessary to curb an aggressor nation. As is often the case, the best and the worst are here in close coöperation to keep things as they are. It does not take many sincere Christians who feel with bitterness of soul the impossibility of acting at the cost of compromise to throw a glamor of superior idealism around the inertia of those who profit by the *status quo*.

2. A second element in the Christian tradition is its otherworldliness. I am using that word to refer to all attempts to find salvation for the individual in an eternal world or salvation for the race outside the processes of history. The Christian tradition arose at a time when it was necessary to think in such terms. In one form or another otherworldliness has controlled Roman and Greek Catholicism and most forms of Protestantism. In its Calvinistic form otherworldliness did not destroy the urge to act in this world but it did intensify the individualism which characterized Calvinistic activity. In *Middletown* it is noticeable that the working class churches are the places where this otherworldly expectation is strongest. It grows dim among those who fare best in this world. In European Protestantism there is a return to the Apocalypticism of the New Testament in a sophisticated and unintelligible form. It seems to be difficult today to find a middle ground between the this-worldly optimism of Liberal Christianity and apocalyptic despair of history and civilization.

3. Another unfavorable element which is less fundamental than the others but which has had great importance in history is the recognition of the divine right of secular powers. The doctrine of the divine right of kings, the subservience of the Roman Church to the state, and the Lutheran trust in the rule of the "Christian Prince" are obvious examples of this tendency. Roman Catholicism, for all its claims for the church's authority, has recognized the relative authority of the state according to natural law and divine appointment and has thus been too often an accomplice of the state. When Paul wrote, "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God," he may have given wise counsel at the time but as inspired Scripture those words have had tragic results.

4. The most important unfavorable element is the tendency to oversimplify the whole process of salvation. This simplification may take the form of making the one important thing in salvation the forgiveness of sins or justification by faith; it may take the form of emphasis upon the sacraments as a means of salvation; or it may take the form of thinking of salvation exclusively in terms of an inner moral change in the individual. In all these cases there is a serious neglect of many necessary conditions of salvation—social intelligence, physical and mental health, environmental conditions, changed institutions. The oversimplification of the process of salvation grows out of the tendency to include all the evils from which humanity needs to be saved under the one word "sin."

One persistent fallacy, a good example of this tendency to oversimplify the conditions of salvation, is

ıe assumption that the Christian is independent of 's material environment and can rise above it. "For have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therein to be ontent" seems to represent the ideal attitude. Now it right for developed Christians to rise above any aterial circumstances which are inevitable, but it is uite a different thing when children, who are develop- g Christians, are undernourished or live in slums. he spiritual results of unemployment—the results of oth the poverty and the sense of failure which go ith it—ought to be proof enough that economic con- tions are basic in the process of salvation. The ories of voluntary poverty for celibates in an agri- ultural society, especially in a warm climate, must ever be allowed to create any illusions about involun- ry poverty for a family of seven in New York City.

NOW turn to the elements in the Christian tradition which are favorable to radical social ıange:

1. First I should put the Christian belief in the alue of persons. The true Christian individualism hich is concerned for the real welfare of all indi- duals, regardless of race or nation or class, is the ot of Christian socialism, for only in a socialistic ciety would all individuals have real equal opportu- ty. Historical Christianity as a whole has not ccepted human equality except in a religious sense— quality before God. In theory and practice the hurch has accepted and defended economic inequality ıd class divisions even to the extent of serfdom and avery. Paul on slavery, the Catholic Church on feud- ism, Luther on the Peasant's Revolt are examples of hat I mean. But when all has been said, the hristian teaching about the value of persons and out the ethic of love surely means that if we are to ve these persons of value we must secure to all of em equal opportunity to develop the best in them. ı our society there cannot be real equal opportunity hen there is not a large measure of actual economic quality.

The Catholic Church cannot be expected to help in setting the class system of society, even though it ould provide security and a living wage for every mily. The Protestant Churches, which share the emocratic tradition, can naturally combine that tra- tion with the religious conception of the worth of l persons, and the combination will bring us close to conception of economic and social equality.

2. Closely connected with the Christian estimate the worth of all persons is the Christian ethic of ve—love without barriers and to the point of self- crifice. Christian love is incompatible with an eco- mic system which stimulates and intensifies self- terest, the opposite of love. Moreover, Christian ve is incompatible with the destruction and the hate that war breeds and with the capitalist exploitation of the masses. To love others is to seek their real welfare, and consequently, to oppose those social conditions which obstruct and destroy that welfare—and all this at any cost to oneself. Christian love, if it is not inhibited by the purism which cannot act in an imperfect world; if it is not narrowed by the familiar Christian oversimplifications; if it is not perverted by the habit of rationalizing economic interests, must be radical in its attitude towards the institutions which crush persons.

3. The third element is the Christian faith that its ethical ideal is the will of God and that God is the ultimate reality. Here the religion of Jesus and the teachings of the Church are at one. Here the Old Testament prophets anticipated Jesus. This faith that God is ethical, that it is He who values persons, that it is He in whose sight the life of love is the ideal, gives religious and metaphysical foundations for the Christian Ethic and hence for radical social change.

From this faith in an ethical God comes a more adequate basis for our ideals, power to endure, insight and hope. It strengthens our faith in persons by enlarging our view of the forces which may lift them to a higher level, and it offers the healing which makes it possible for us to go on in the face of defeat and tragedy. It intensifies our sense of sin in the face of injustice to which we consent and nourishes that rare sense of responsibility which makes the individual take upon himself the sins of his group. Above all, it is the surest cure for that sense of futility and meaninglessness which comes over men today and which paralyzes ethical action as surely as the worst religious opiate.

4. The Christian emphasis upon inner moral and spiritual change is of vital importance even though exclusive emphasis upon it many be an oversimplification. If the individual's sense of sin is adequately linked up with the social evil by which he profits or to which he consents, it becomes a powerful driving force now towards social change. There is danger that a secular social program will neglect the changing of persons who are to carry it out. Under socialism the temptation of power may be as serious as the temptation of profit under our present system. Moreover, the problem of developing and maintaining idealism in the individual is neglected by non-religious systems. Such idealism rests on insights which require nourishment at the deepest levels of personal life.

5. The Christian teaching about wealth and property, obscured as it is by current Christian practice, furnishes a double reason for changing our property system. It adds to the fact that wealth is the other side of injustice the fact that riches corrupt those who possess them. Jesus' teaching about the dangers of wealth are clear. The Catholic tradition has had great difficulty in justifying the system of pri-

vate property. It accepts it as a result of natural law and as a concession to original sin. Protestantism has been much bolder in justifying property, but its doctrine of stewardship undermines the individual's right to do what he wills with his own. In practice that doctrine of stewardship is interpreted very loosely, and in return for a percentage given to the Church the individual's right to accumulate unlimited wealth is sanctioned, and the methods by which he makes his money are either ignored or blessed. But that is really an abuse of the principle of stewardship, which as a provisional ethic for Christian capitalists suggests the precariousness of the whole system of property rights in the sight of God.

6. Last of all we have Jesus himself. He taught the value of persons, the ideal of love, the faith in an ethical God. His life incarnated all three. He is still a source of the insight and energy which are necessary to realize the Christian ideal in the world. Contact with his spirit proves to be one of the ways in which the ethical God lifts men to a higher level of life and keeps them there. We can't make Jesus into one who was primarily an economic revolutionist; but towards the institutions of his day which oppressed the people he was a revolutionist. He carried his opposition to things as they were to the point of death. He proved that the death of the righteous can be more creative than their lives, for his crucifixion was but the beginning of his power. Those who follow him in our day cannot but be revolutionists toward the institutions which oppress the people now—and if we have it in us, at the same cost. In spite of all its limitation we owe liberal theology a great debt for its simplification of the Christian tradition in terms of the religion of Jesus. In doing that it has cleared the ground for a socially radical Christianity.

From this analysis one conclusion presses itself upon me. The elements in the Christian tradition which are favorable to radical social change are essential to it. Without the Christian conception of personality, the ethic of love, the ethical God, without Jesus himself, there would be no Christianity at all. Of the unfavorable elements, the most important, the simplification of the process of salvation, is really incidental. There is no reason why Christianity cannot enlarge its conception of salvation and remain true to itself. The habit of yielding to the secular powers is an accident of history and inconsistent with the deepest things in Christianity itself. The absolute ethic and otherworldliness are essential to Christianity; but neither of them is necessarily incompatible with the most revolutionary social program, and indeed the first may be said to demand it. The absolute ethic is relevant to every age and condition even if it is not realized fully in any age or condition. It always provided the direction and the ultimate goal. It creates a restlessness towards things as they are which need not be accompanied by a paralysis of effort. In some form otherworldliness is doubtless essential, for God himself is beyond this world, and the ultimate goal cannot be thought of entirely within the limits of this world. But when the ethical character of God is emphasized that otherworldliness provides a more spacious horizon, against which the issues of this life appear more momentous. Christianity has its dangers, but so has secular idealism. If the one may become an opiate, the other may lead to cynicism and a sense of futility.

Here Lies . . .

YOU had only a stone
When I asked bread;
But with your friendship
I was fed.

When I asked nothing,
You gave flowers;
And oh, they were beautiful—
My hours.

Now with one hand
You offer gold;
A knife in the other
Hand you hold. . . .

And in my thanks,
A velvet word,
Is hidden for you,
Friend, a sword.

IDELLA PURNELL

Stars

THE proud stars walk upon the air—
And always each must walk alone;
Yet in his lonely thoroughfare
Each star is strong like fiery stone.

Each in his road of lonely doom—
Arcturus or Aldeberan—
Endures the shadow and the gloom,
Advancing light a little span.

Across the million miles of night
(Too far for touch, for speech too far)
Each makes himself a torch of light
To tell the stars he is a star.

Superb on the abyss of air
(Yet Oh how lonely and alone!)
The stars make light of their despair—
Brilliant like fire and strong like stone.

E. MERRILL ROOT

Not in the Headlines

Friends are invited to share with our readers their own discoveries of significant news items.

Socialists Retain Control

In Vienna the Socialists have captured 66 out of 100 delegates o the city council, thus assuring a continuance of the Socialist egime for another five years.

Business Crashes

For the first three months of this year the number of com- nercial failures was 9,141, as compared with 8,483 during the ame period of 1931.

Women Endorse League

After twelve years of uncertainty, the National League of Women Voters now officially urges the entrance of the United tates into the League of Nations.

British Labor Wins

Arthur Greenwood has been returned to Parliament in a by- lection. He was Minister of Health in the former Labour Gov- rnment and now succeeds George Lansbury as leader of the abour Party in the House of Commons.

Twenty-Three Billions in the Red

During the past fifteen years, the Federal Government of the United States has expended 23 billion dollars more than it has eceived in revenue from all sources. By far the greatest part f this amount was consumed by the Great Moloch War.

The First One

The new Atlanta University Library is the first library of uni- ersity caliber open to Negroes in the far South. About 89 per ent of the Negroes in the South are without any library service vhatever.

Judge Laments Inability

When Jacob Rosen was brought into court for participating n a Communist demonstration, Magistrate Dodge, of the Essex Market Court in New York City, expressed regret that he was nable to impose a sentence of 100 lashes.

Socialist Clergymen Organize

A Socialist Ministers' Protective Association, to help provide emergency maintenance for any member-minister who loses his position because of socialist opinions and activities, has been formed, nder the leadership of Rev. W. B. Waltmire, Humboldt Park Community Church, Chicago.

Children Work While Men Are Unemployed

Approximately 700,000 children from 10 to 15 years of age, in- clusive, were at work in the United States in 1930. About 230,000 of these, or more than one-third, were 13 years of age or under. The number of children out of school is even more staggering. More than 1,330,000 children 7 to 15 years of age, inclusive, were not attending any school in 1930, according to census figures, in spite of the wide extension of compulsory school attendance.

Quakers at the Front

More than 37,000 children and mothers were being fed in the coal relief section by the American Friends Service Committee on April 1.

Eventually 21 Billions

By 1945 war veterans' relief measures will have cost the tax- payers of the United States more than 21 billion dollars, estimates Brigadier General Hines, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

The Costs Linger On

Veterans who suffered no disability in war service are now re- ceiving 450 millions annually in benefits from the Federal govern- ment, reports The National Economy Committee. If the funds being appropriated for veterans who were disabled by war service are added, the total is approximately one billion dollars per year, or one-fourth of the total expenses of our Federal government.

An Eleven Billion Dollar Slump

The total value of the foreign trade of the twenty-two leading countries of the world declined from $40,685,000,000 in 1930 to $29,614,000,000 in 1931, reports the National Industrial Confer- ence Board.

Nordics Monopolize Justice

The president of the Brooklyn Constitutional Hoover-Curtis Committee, in commenting upon the Massie case, combines law- lessness with racial bigotry when she says: "Can you blame the injured family for taking the law into their own hands when justice certainly had been denied them? When we consider the polyglot population, we could hardly expect anything different."

Protest Against Chief of Staff

Students at the University of Pittsburgh are protesting against the action of the administration in inviting General Douglas Mac- Arthur, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, to deliver the commencement address. An effort is being made to arouse public opinion in the city against the emphasizing of militarism in this way.

Frying Pan to Fire

Although unemployment has decreased in Great Britain since the country went off the gold standard and the National Govern- ment came in, the decrease amounting to some 350,000, the figures as ordinarily presented do not take into account the fact that un- der the means test and other devices to reduce unemployment benefits no fewer than 200,000 people have been forced upon the "rates"; that is, compelled to accept poor relief. At the end of September, 1931, the number of persons on poor relief in Eng- land and Wales was 1,005,813, whereas at the end of March, 1932, it stood at 1,220,000.

Socialism's Contribution to Christianity

FRANCIS A. HENSON

THE major contribution of socialism to Christian living is that it offers prophetic Christianity a means of separating itself ideologically from the present outmoded, highly unchristian and passing bourgeois civilization and of consciously aligning itself with the class-conscious (the new-society-conscious) revolutionists who are engaged in constructing the next civilization. The wide acceptance of what is called Christianity and its marked respectability is not proof that the principles of Jesus have triumphed in society. This dominant Christianity is merely the façade, the rose water which helps to obscure the irrationalities, the unveracities and the stench of a system of exploitation.

Since the time when, under Constantine, Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, the strategic struggle has not been mainly between Christians and non-Christians, but between Christian and non-Christian exploited and Christian and non-Christian exploiters. Because of the manner in which the dominant and conventional form of Christianity protects the exploiters, who would be horrified at any attempt to practice the explosive paradoxes which characterize genuine Christianity, one sometimes wishes that a great majority of "Christians," gaining a knowledge of its true nature, might renounce Christianity rather than give further support to doctrines so subversive of the social order which has granted them security and comfort, endowed them with power and elevated them to positions of importance and influence. It is because this idea is so evidently wishful thinking that one is hopeless concerning the part that organized religion, in the large, will take in achieving the necessary social change.

There is still a great deal of discussion on the importance of developing person by person the type of rounded personality who will live a full Christian life. Few Christian advocates of revolutionary social change will minimize the desirability of this emphasis. They will add, however, that because we have not been willing to pay the much greater price of growing more Christian collectively as well as individually, we have been able to succeed only partially in achieving personal character of a genuinely Christian type. Christians under capitalism have been Christians in spite of rather than because of the society in which they have lived. Socialism offers Christians a place in the ranks of the army which is building a society much more conducive to the development of the highest character values than the present order. It will be an order of coöperation rather than competition.

Few maintain that living in this new order will automatically regenerate all men, so that instead of acting from motives that root in narrow self-interest, they will love all other men and always act in terms of the greatest social good. But it is contended that the influences produced by a better environing society will individually regenerate more people, who, having once accepted the validity of these more Christian motives and ways of living, will be encouraged in their venture rather than retarded at every step, by the social and economic order. The major question this new society will constantly ask the individual will be: Is this measure likely to promote the social good, interpreted in the broadest manner? Equally significant, because of the human tendency toward conformity and herd-mindedness, is the question which society as a social unit will constantly ask itself; namely: Is this project conducive to the maximum development of the varied and original characteristics of the persons composing society? Our present order seldom asks any questions of this sort, because its major objective is production for private profit rather than production planned to meet the pre-determined needs of society.

A second contribution which socialism makes to Christianity follows logically as a corollary of the first. Socialism helps Christianity to regain the robustness that characterized its early conflict with an unchristian environment. The old conception of an earthly life from which one was saved for everlasting heavenly bliss is becoming increasingly meaningless among the sections of Christendom for which there is any hope at all. However, this emphasis was sound to the extent that it testified to the unmistakably ephemeral nature of the fascinating and tragic interlude between the eternities which constitutes life on earth. Furthermore, it gave a terrific drive to the adherents of the new faith. There were issues of supreme significance at stake. Yet it was a costly way of meeting life and its problems here on this planet. Humans have a way of rationalizing their problems out of existence rather than facing them and conquering them. By shifting the equitable society into the future world the churches very effectively assisted the ostensibly pious and the frankly pagan beneficiaries of the inequitable society to perpetuate an unjust order here on earth.

SOCIALISM implements Christianity so that it may move forward toward its goal. It enables Christians to regain the zeal which the "saved" had when they observed the prospect of the "damned." It is a dynamic, however, which is qualified by knowledge of social and historical trends and psychological insights

nto the functioning of human nature. Socialism involves, furthermore, an intense hatred of the present ystem and a tolerance for the victims of it, whether apitalists or workers, in the same way that Christianty when virile has intolerantly hated sin and pardoned inners.

It is here that the class struggle concept is a distinct sset to the modern prophetic Christian. In his too ittle-known essay, *Criticism of the Hegelian Phiosophy of Right,* Marx wrote:

> Wherein lies the positive possibility of . . . emancipation? In the formation of a class in radical chains, a class which finds itself in bourgeois society, but which is not of it, an order which shall break up all orders, a sphere which possesses a universal character by virtue of its universal suffering, which lays claim to no special right, because no particular wrong but wrong in general is committed upon it, which can no longer invoke an historical title, but only a human title, which stands not in a one-sided antagonism to the consequences, but in a many-sided antagonism to the assumptions of the [bourgeois] community, a sphere finally which cannot emancipate itself without emancipating all the other spheres of society, which represents in a word the complete loss of mankind, and can therefore only redeem itself through the complete redemption of mankind. The dissolution of society reduced to a special order is the proletariat.

As if to offer some hope to a minority of the middle lass—and it is a minority only who will participate ctively in the midwifery requisite in a period of major ocial transition—Marx and Engels wrote in the Comunist Manifesto:

> Finally in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class—in fact, within the whole range of an old society—assumes such a violent, glaring character that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole.

"But," ask many Christians, "isn't promoting class onsciousness as undesirable as urging that a collecivity like one's race or nation or family become a prinary loyalty as against loyalty to the whole of mankind? From the socialist angle it is not only not as ndesirable but is positively necessary as a means of naking over a society of classes into a classless society. 'Class" as used here has much more than its conventional meaning. It represents a new world view. It ignifies participation in a fellowship of illumined indiviiduals who have related themselves to a cosmic proess at work in the universe and who are destined to onstruct a new society where *all* men will have an quality of opportunity. It is true that class consciousness as class hatred means something foreign to the religion of Jesus, but it is equally true that nothing is more alien to Jesus' position than love of God expressed in terms of a purely personal relationship without social interests.

Further misunderstanding is caused by a too literal drawing of the class lines, particularly in the United States. To be effective, the body of any party which is revolutionary and socialistic must be made up of the disinherited and the exploited. However, at present most of the membership of the American Federation of Labor still has to be convinced of the political and economic doctrine which would represent its real interests, and, on the other hand, there are some rare sons and daughters of millionaires who ideologically have forsaken the bourgeois world of their parents and have joined the class-conscious workers for a new day. The degree to which ideas and economic class interests are the same is to be determined by an empirical test. Cultures which are dynamic, like that of the United States in the early part of this century, make it difficult to generalize on the likelihood of ideas growing directly out of class interests; a more organic culture, like that of Germany, makes the correlation closer.

THAT socialism requires Christianity, particularly liberal Protestantism, to leave the delusive arms of liberalism and move forward into the camp of radicalism is its third contribution. Liberalism for makers of history is a tenable position only in times that most emphatically are not periods of basic social upheaval. When fundamental issues are being contested, the liberal usually is one of the most useful bulwarks of the *status quo* because of his air of academic disinterestedness and experimentation, which usually masks an emotional and intellectual attachment to the existing order. Contemporary liberalism in religion is almost inseparably wedded to the idea of continuity. There has been an uncritical and almost unqualified Rousseauian faith in the goodness of human nature and a too easy acceptance not of the evolutionary theory but of Herbert Spencer's synthetic philosophy based on his conception of the evolutionary theory and its implications. With such axioms, which when examined appear to be questionable assumptions, religious and educational forces of liberal inclinations confidently expect painless change to be accomplished by sitting around conference tables and very gradually blending what are only ostensibly conflicting interests. Joseph Wood Krutch has pointed out that if the modern age were to become as convinced of the reality of the principle of discontinuity as the whole liberal epoch since the Renaissance has been convinced of the principle of continuity, as radical a change would be introduced into culture as that which took place when the Middle Ages came to an end.

Socialism of a revolutionary sort—not the astronomical Marxist variety which characterizes some of the older members of the Socialist Party in this and other countries—is built on the assumption that the principle of discontinuity is as basic as that of continuity. Agreeing in the main with Spengler's analysis of the decline of Western civilization, it refuses to accept the denouement of his prophecy. Socialism very definitely states that we have come to the end of an epoch in this first half of the twentieth century; that nothing less than radical change is adequate and that the goal is a socialist society. This goal implies a persistently real option and is capable of realization only by an awareness of the conditions, limits and powers of man's activity in the world. It is this genuine option which we have before us which gives us the slim chance of achieving the socialist society with a minimum of violence and conceivably by relatively non-violent means.

Because of the insistence on revolutionary change in this article, the question of the use of violence or non-violence must have been in the minds of many readers up to this point. Every day that persons interested in prophetic Christianity allow to pass while trying to make up their minds whether or not to stand forthrightly for the supersession of the capitalistic system by a socialist society, makes more meager the possibility of securing the fundamental social change by democratic means and without violence. The argument of the inadvisability of Christians taking sides in such a struggle, which unless advanced by a consistent pacifist is obviously a way of dodging the issue, is indicative of socially unrealistic thinking. We are part of a community and are implicated in the present class society. Since there is no presuppositionless position, attempted neutrality is equivalent to tacit support of the *status quo*. In my judgment, violence is not an effective means of achieving the ends that socialists desire. It is equally clear, however, that since we are at the end of an epoch economically and culturally and have technically an economy of abundance, some form of collectivism—fascism, communism or socialism—or chaos is ahead. The achievement of any of these forms of collectivism and planned social control requires a social revolution. Will prophetic Christianity leave liberalism soon enough to help build socialism by relatively non-violent means?

SOCIALISM'S fourth contribution to Christianity may seem unimportant when measured against the significance of the other three. The socialist movement teaches Christians how to work together as comrades and yet disagree and argue, with vigor and frankness, about policies and tactics. Criticism is frank and open, and if one socialist group is trying to combat the policies of another group, both accept the conflict of viewpoints from the beginning and act accordingly. What a contrast this is to most denominational conventions and to many sessions of local church councils, where an individual or group, conscious of being in hearty disagreement with a proposal that is being made, will yet compliment the speaker advocating it, or at least leave him under the impression that he has much more support than is actually the case, while behind his back the forces will be marshalled to defeat him. The smug intellectual backslapping, keeping-in-the-zone-of-agreement attitude is essentially bourgeois and is certainly not related to the frank, loving-although-differing approach of Jesus. There is no doubt that some socialists, in their personal relationships, may learn a great deal from Jesus' high respect for persons as persons. Here as elsewhere, the religion of Jesus and socialism supplement each other. The first step is to recognize the value of a spirited clash of opinions, without which humanity would have made little progress. "Without parties no development without division no progress." The second step is to encourage these intellectual bouts in a spirit of frankness, sincerity and love.

MANY persons are ready to declare that such a discussion as this attempts to synthesize irreconcilable philosophies. If one refers to certain particular forms of Christianity and of socialism, it is a sound contention. However, it has been implicit throughout the article and should be explicitly declared that in using such designations as the religion of Jesus, or prophetic Christianity, and socialism, there is no assumption of authority *per se* in either way of life. The validity of all insights must be tested by personal and social experience in the broadest sense. It is assumed, on the other hand, that new developments in the physical sciences are making it less possible to speak accurately of the cause and effect sequence of spirit and nature or the supernatural and the natural. Dialectical materialism of Marx is not necessarily mechanistic, and Christian living is not necessarily spiritual. It is assumed, also, that a conception of God and a philosophy of religion which is Promethean, in some such manner as Professor Montague has sketchily outlined, is probably the most likely to be consonant with this viewpoint and to have promise of giving moral potency. If these assumptions are granted, there is much more justification for attempting to construct, out of all of the thinking of the past and today's needs, a new world view adequate for our times than there was for the promulgation of Thomism for these many centuries by the Roman Catholic Church as the result of the days Thomas Aquinas spent in his study with Paul and Aristotle synthesizing the diverse factors of Scholasticism. And this course of the Catholic Church was justified.

War and Peace

A Summary of 555 Replies to a Questionnaire at Muskingum College, directed and edited by Professor J. J. Smith.

			True	False	Doubtful	Omitted
War is justified because it develops courage and loyalty	1.	N	22	498	26	9
		%	3.96	89.73	4.68	1.62
Any war is wrong from the Christian point of view	2.	N	230	243	80	2
		%	41.44	43.78	14.41	.36
The nations should boycott trade—except in foods—of a national war aggressor.	3.	N	282	119	122	22
		%	50.81	21.44	21.98	3.96
We should keep the U. S. navy at about its present strength	4.	N	233	185	108	29
		%	21.44	33.33	19.46	5.23
War is a necessary expression of man's fighting nature	5.	N	37	458	31	29
		%	6.67	82.52	5.59	5.23
Public or world opinion is sufficient defense against national military aggression	6.	N	116	254	116	19
		%	20.90	45.77	20.90	3.42
If war threatens, a general convention of diplomats should be called	7.	N	439	50	66	0
		%	79.10	9.00	11.89	0.00
War is undesirable, but at present necessary	8.	N	71	416	60	8
		%	12.79	74.95	10.81	1.44
War is a necessary part of a nation's struggle for existence	9.	N	80	392	51	32
		%	14.41	70.63	9.19	5.77
If called upon to bear arms in war, I would declare myself a conscientious objector	10.	N	185	227	139	4
		%	33.33	40.90	25.05	.72
Moral condemnation of a militaristic nation by large social groups is a powerful social force	11.	N	370	75	110	0
		%	66.67	13.51	19.82	0.00
We should seek to regulate rather than to abolish war	12.	N	108	395	43	9
		%	19.46	71.17	7.75	1.62
The blood sacrifice made by the soldier is of the Christian type	13.	N	83	320	139	13
		%	14.95	57.66	25.05	2.34
The practice of war does not defend a nation's honor	14.	N	339	109	71	36
		%	61.08	19.64	12.79	6.49
The conscientious objector to war may consider himself a loyal citizen	15.	N	386	94	69	6
		%	69.55	16.94	12.43	1.08
Extreme pacifism endangers national security	16.	N	262	156	133	4
		%	47.21	28.11	23.96	.72
Patriotism demands that the citizen participate in war	17.	N	182	277	84	11
		%	32.79	49.91	15.14	1.98
National preparedness makes war more likely	18.	N	344	118	57	36
		%	61.98	21.26	10.27	6.49
Christianity provides resistance to evil by means other than war	19.	N	480	19	36	10
		%	86.49	3.42	6.49	1.80
A right national cause justifies the practice of war	20.	N	166	252	131	6
		%	29.91	45.41	23.60	1.08
A citizen of a democracy should submit his conscientious objections to the will of the majority	21.	N	141	286	124	4
		%	25.40	51.53	22.34	.72
An international adjustment always is made more difficult after the fighting of a war	22.	N	448	43	61	3
		%	80.72	7.75	10.99	.54
The United States should become a member of the World Court	23.	N	354	76	134	0
		%	62.16	13.69	24.14	0.00
The United States never has fought an unjust war	24.	N	71	345	127	2
		%	12.79	62.16	22.88	.36
The Bible predicts wars until the final coming of Christ	25.	N	330	66	144	15
		%	59.45	11.89	25.95	2.70
Normally we expect war to endanger human life and property more than to protect it	26.	N	482	41	26	6
		%	86.85	7.39	12.07	1.08
An army or navy never should fight beyond the boundaries of the home nation	27.	N	146	256	152	1
		%	26.31	46.13	27.39	.18
Military training should be compulsory in state universities	28.	N	92	382	72	15
		%	16.58	69.00	12.75	2.70
Military experts should determine military budgets	29.	N	222	208	97	34
		%	40.00	37.48	17.48	6.13
Investments in foreign countries should not be protected by warfare	30.	N	353	121	81	0
		%	63.60	21.80	14.58	0.00
The United States now should join the League of Nations	31.	N	251	113	179	12
		%	45.23	20.36	32.25	2.16
The United States should arm up to its treaty rights	32.	N	160	231	152	12
		%	28.83	41.62	27.39	2.16
War is necessary to avoid over-population of nations	33.	N	21	462	46	26
		%	3.78	83.24	8.29	4.69
Missionaries in foreign countries should not be protected by war methods	34.	N	279	162	107	7
		%	50.27	29.19	19.28	1.26
The military budget of the United States should be reduced very greatly this year	35.	N	322	107	122	4
		%	58.02	19.28	21.98	.72
I believe in an international army to act as a police force	36.	N	230	170	128	27
		%	41.44	30.63	23.06	4.86
To die in battle is to guarantee the soul's salvation	37.	N	19	448	61	27
		%	3.41	80.82	10.99	4.83
The national government has no moral right to compel its citizens to wage war	38.	N	340	132	64	19
		%	61.26	23.78	11.53	3.42
Abolish now military armaments for offensive purposes	39.	N	282	131	130	12
		%	50.81	23.60	23.42	2.16
Nations should pay high honors to their military leaders	40.	N	181	225	139	10
		%	32.61	40.54	25.05	1.80
The command against killing does not apply to warfare	41.	N	127	282	134	12
		%	22.88	50.81	24.14	2.16
I consider loyalty to God superior to loyalty to nation	42.	N	507	12	23	13
		%	91.35	2.16	4.14	2.34
War is an evil national practice which we can abolish	43.	N	358	74	107	16
		%	64.50	13.33	19.28	2.88
Military armaments must be reduced very gradually over a long period of time	44.	N	286	106	124	37
		%	51.53	19.10	22.34	6.67
The nation's honor should be defended at any price	45.	N	140	243	157	15
		%	25.23	43.78	28.29	2.70
War involves ordinarily all kinds of moral evils	46.	N	436	35	41	43
		%	78.56	6.31	7.39	7.75
Organized religious bodies should definitely condemn war	47.	N	393	77	77	8
		%	70.81	13.87	13.87	1.44
The common citizen can do very little to oppose war	48.	N	150	348	55	2
		%	27.03	62.70	9.91	.36

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

The Doctors Disagree

Business and the Public Interest. By Benjamin Javits. Macmillan Co. $2.50.

The Twelfth Hour of Capitalism. By Kuno Renatus. Knopf. $2.50.

Is Capitalism Doomed? By Lawrence Dennis. Harper's. $3.00.

THESE three books are just a small section of the immense volume of literature which the current depression is producing. They illustrate the failure of economists to agree on much of anything except that there is a depression. Indeed, one of the most interesting features of Kuno Renatus's book is his very effective and rather humorous summary of the different and contradictory reasons economists of standing have given for the depression and, of course, of their different and contradictory cures. Nevertheless, these books have great though uneven value.

The first of them is an elaboration in the light of the times of an earlier book written by Mr. Javits in collaboration with Stuart Chase, entitled "Make Everybody Rich." That book was written in a day when such a task seemed far easier than it seems today. Mr. Javits, however, still holds to his fundamental position, which is, that by repealing the anti-trust law and permitting trade associations under proper regulation, it will be possible to clear the track for the new capitalism and permit an intelligent scheme of industrial planning to grow up. In this connection Mr. Javits gives much interesting information. Among other things, he publishes in full the Swope Plan.

All the objections that I originally expressed to his plan as outlined in the earlier book, I still feel. Indeed, I think the extraordinary debacle of the so-called new capitalism makes it more certain than ever that it is not the way out. It does not have the intellectual or the moral energy, and is doomed by its inherent contradictions. In spite of the anti-trust laws it cannot be denied that the new capitalism had the field pretty much to itself prior to the great collapse. This terrible worldwide depression is not due to anti-trust laws in America. Neither is it due to capitalist stupidity except in so far as the capitalist system as a whole is insane in a world that has developed as ours had under the machine age.

The other two books are to my mind more significant. Kuno Renatus—the name is evidently a pseudonym for some German economist—writes one of the most lucid bits of analysis of the present depression I have seen. There is about his book none of the proverbial Teutonic heaviness. It is even enlivened with considerable quiet humor. To Herr Renatus the devil in the picture is the immense burden of unproductive war debts, which burden is heaviest of all in the United States. I think he oversimplifies and neglects a great many other characteristics of capitalism which are also responsible for these tragic times. Nevertheless, he makes his case in impressive fashion so far as this burden of debt is concerned, pointing out, for instance, that the entire burden of interest on the American liberty loans is drawn by the government from the stream of productive wealth and is paid over to a comparatively small class. This class wants to keep it as investment capital. Under these circumstances the country had first an immense and artificial boom produced by the efforts of a class drawing interest from liberty loans to reinvest their money. For a while they subsidized consumption by the installment plan. As time went on, however, this piling up of new equipment, for which there was created no corresponding consuming power, brought the inevitable crisis. The author suggests as a remedy a conversion of the liberty loans so as to reduce the burden by 20 per cent. He makes an impressive case for his cure as far as it goes.

Is Capitalism Doomed? is the most considerable of all these books. The author, Lawrence Dennis, has been in the American diplomatic service and also has been connected with foreign bankers. He writes, then, from experience. Nowhere have I ever seen a more slashing or brilliant attack upon the banker's notion of international finance. From a socialist point of view Mr. Dennis, like Herr Renatus, overlooks or seems to overlook factors of great importance, but the factors that he does examine he deals with most trenchantly. It is rather a shame to try to summarize his case. Briefly, he is of the opinion that we are being ruined by the crazy way in which we have piled up debts and compounded interest by fresh loans. Now the day of reckoning has come. We cannot forever encourage prosperity by borrowing and lending more money. Mr. Dennis is not nearly as much impressed as Herr Renatus with the peculiarly non-productive nature of the war debts and some other government loans. He points out that a lot of other debts are almost as bad as these so-called "non productive" debts in their effect upon our economic life.

He too has a remedy—a remedy which he does not think that a capitalist world will accept. It is a remedy which calls for about 85 per cent taxation on wealth in order to reduce the burden of debts on the farmers and to make some sort of provision for the unemployed. Another remedy, he thinks, would be a world war toward which we drift. He admits, however, that in a world war we might go Russian, so he is not too sanguine concerning it. If I were a capitalist I would pray to be delivered from this sort of defender.

The weakest point in Mr. Dennis's book, as I see it, is his tendency to insinuate that America can set her own house in order and pay little attention to the rest of the world. Even granting that we have made awful fools of ourselves, first by getting into the war, secondly by the peace, and thirdly by the loan policy that we, or rather our bankers, have followed, I still think that in an interdependent world even the degree of isolation that Mr. Dennis and some other writers advocate is practically impossible. That does not mean, however, that I favor a continuation of the wild orgy of lending money to unwilling borrowers under pressure, as has been done in the post-war years. This process, however, did

ot merely characterize international banking; it characterized the hole system of money lending in a gamblers' civilization.

In spite of this criticism I want heartily to recommend Mr. ennis's book. The convinced socialist will find more ammuni-on in it than in most radical books. The bewildered citizen not t a convinced socialist will find food for pretty serious thinking out this capitalist system which he has been trying to persuade imself was both intelligent and moderately ethical. Ask Mr. ennis what he thinks!

NORMAN THOMAS

Editing Creatively

he Personality of Jesus. By Kirby Page. Association Press. Paper, $.90; cloth, $1.50.

iving Creatively. By Kirby Page. Farrar and Rinehart. $2.00.

A CREATIVE editor is the title that best fits Kirby Page. Few people can equal him in the ability to bring together to striking and coherent form the results of the studies of many aried writers. He has been doing research work so long on uestions of war and peace, international relations, the social rder and religion, all from the point of view of Jesus' approach these matters, that he has a tremendous knowledge of the best at has been said on those subjects by various scholars. When, en, he sets out to prepare a book which will be an aid to Bible udy for college people, one can be sure not only that it will mbody his own incisive point of view, but also that it will include uch from others who have been working in the same field, all elded into a unified whole.

The Personality of Jesus is just that. The fourteen chapters resent different aspects of Jesus' personality as he dealt with the roblems of living in his own day. The text makes no effort to onnect Jesus' experience with ours, but it draws upon the writings f many who have illumined our understanding of that unique fig-re. Each chapter, however, is followed by a series of daily read-gs and meditations, each one consisting of a reference to a short ible passage followed by a few searching questions which often ring the thought to a focus in terms of a modern problem. These re followed by questions for group discussion and a short biblio-raphy giving page references to important books on the subject.

The arrangement is excellent, the questions are well chosen and learly stated; and one can foresee that the book will be very widely sed both by individuals and groups who want to understand better ie Master of Life.

The other book, *Living Creatively,* is different both in aim and ethod, although it is also intended for devotional use. The author evelops in separate chapters ten avenues which lead to creative ving, such as relieving human misery, transforming unjust social ystems, gaining vision through silence, seeking beauty, cultivating ellowship, recovering strength through penitence, exploring great iographies, following the noblest personality, cooperating with God, running risks and accepting penalties. These chapters, too, re enriched with many well-selected quotations. The second and arger part of the book consists of ten cycles of excerpts from both rose and poetry, illustrative of the types of creative living previ-usly described. While these are intended primarily for daily read-ng, they will prove invaluable to anyone who has to build programs or meetings where appropriate topical selections are needed.

The book should have had an introduction and its chapters are ather poorly balanced; but the wealth of suggestive material in ; and the index which makes that material readily available, ore than offset such limitations.

There is a question which ought to be raised, however, which has to do with the people who will or will not use these books. In his introduction to *The Personality of Jesus,* Kirby Page gives an answer to the complaint of those who object to the constant appeal to Jesus, and he urges this study on the minimum basis of intellectual self-respect; but there is an increasing number of young people today who simply are rendered cold by such an appeal. This means that the use of the books will largely be limited to those who have remained close to their early religious training. Perhaps that is intended, or perhaps the author has sensed a turn in the thinking of young people which is not evident to the reviewer. Sometime, however, we should have a book which reverses the process. It would start with the problems of personality or of the social order and bring to bear on them the light that has come from various sources, including that of Jesus' experience, though not for the sake of making a case for Christianity. *Living Creatively* apparently starts out to do that, but since most of the writers quoted have the other point of view, the book fails to meet that need. Most people would like to live creatively, but they are not convinced that Jesus' guidance is the sole means to that end.

PAUL JONES

The Epic of Russia

Russia. By Hans von Eckardt. Alfred Knopf. $7.50.

BOOKS on Russia are saving the publishers from bankruptcy. They are multiplying at an ever-increasing rate, the harassed public seeming to desire nothing so much as more knowledge about the striking alternative to capitalism which Russia is hewing out. Most of these books deal with some aspect of Russian post-revolutionary history. It has remained for a German professor of political economy to give us a full-length volume in which the warp and woof of Russian history from the earliest beginnings to the present day is presented in one fabric. The book is a masterpiece of accurate and unbiased historical writing. Eckardt is not only a political economist who can give us an accurate picture of the political structure and the economic realities of present-day Russia; he is an historian who knows how to isolate and define all the spiritual and political roots of the revolution. A survey of Russian literature gives us illuminating glimpses of the various tempers and moods through which the Russian soul passed in its development toward the epochal event of 1917. We see how the religious soul of Russia was gradually transmuted into an instrument for the new kind of barbaric and heroic religiosity which communism expresses.

The account of the relation between the Nihilist movement, initiated by middle-class intellectuals and morally sensitive aristocrats, and the ultimately successful Bolshevist movement is very illuminating. The Nihilist movement, emanating from individualists who did not understand the necessities of politics and therefore spent their opposition to the cruelty of czarism in blind and futile vehemence, was bound to have little effect upon political history. But it had one thing in common with Bolshevism, and by that one characteristic it helps us to understand the Russian soul. It distilled cruelty and hardness out of the sentimental Russian spirit and transmuted religion into irreligion. The Nihilists were atheists not because they knew anything about modern science, but because religion seemed to them to rest upon assumptions about the moral dignity of human life which the cruel outrages of czarism reduced to a hollow mockery. They

were religious in the same sense that the communists are religious: in that they projected a moral goal for society in the same moment in which they denied the moral pretensions of contemporary society. In common with the communists, they had no moral scruples about the means by which they might arrive at their goal. Only the communists were much more realistic in choosing methods which would be politically effective. The communists had a political strategy which was designed for an industrial civilization in the process of decay. That it worked in a decaying feudal civilization may seem to be one of the miracles of history. An analysis of all the factors rather tends to prove, however, that the strategy was more effective in Russia than it will ever be for the kind of civilization for which it was designed.

Von Eckardt's account of the revolution, his estimate of Kerensky and the middle class social democrats, his description of Lenin's realism, of Trostky's kindling fervor, and of Stalin's shrewd political practicality—all this and much more makes his chapter on the revolution as illuminating as the earlier chapters in which the spiritual and economic background of the revolutionary period is outlined. The volume is encyclopedic in its proportions and is an indispensable tool for those who wish to understand modern Russia. The price of the book, $7.50, is rather prohibitive in this depression period. But it ought to be worth a half-dozen ordinary books on Russia to the ambitious student of Russian life. R.N.

Japan and China—A Contrast

Japan. By Inazo Nitobe. Scribners. $5.00.
Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic. By Harold Archer Van Dorn. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

IT would be difficult to find two more dissimilar books about closely related subjects than these two volumes on the development of the two leading nations of the Far East. Although one was written by an eminent Japanese statesman and the other by an American with a relatively casual acquaintance with the Orient, the two books embody to a significant extent the contrasting characteristics of these neighboring but perennially hostile lands. Both authors have made valuable contributions, but of a very different type.

There is probably no one in this generation more fitted to interpret Japan for the Western reader than Dr. Nitobe, seven years a member of the Secretariat of the League of Nations; certainly there is no one who combines so admirably scholarship and an understanding of his country with a fluency in English and an appreciation of the Western point of view. In every respect save one the book is a notable monument to so distinguished an author. It is comprehensive in its scope and penetrating in its insight. Within the brief compass of less than four hundred pages the book deals with the geographical and historical background of modern Japan, its complex form of political organization, education, the labor movement, and, finally, the thought life of the Japanese people. It will undoubtedly rank as the standard book on Japan for years to come. But certain unfortunate by-products of its thoroughness and scholarship will prevent its being widely read except by serious students. For, odd as it may seem, there are very few English-speaking persons who will not find a dictionary indispensable in reading certain portions of the book. Moreover, the arrangement and form of the material militates against its acceptance by the general public. The first chapter consists largely of technical geographical and geological material such as one dislikes to meet outside the pages of an encyclopedia. Yet if one has the patience to overlook what might be considered merely as Japanese orderliness, he will be amply rewarded by the insight that is afforded into the history and characteristics of a too frequently misunderstood people.

In sharp contrast with Mr. Nitobe's volume, one finds *Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic* to be a readable, popular treatment of contemporary events in troubled China. The author seeks to show that substantial progress has been made in all fields during the twenty years that have passed since the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, despite the apparent chaos resulting from the constant civil strife. While there is no question but that substantial progress has been made in China in many directions, it is not nearly so tangible or general as a casual reading of Dr. Van Dorn's book might lead one to imagine. It is true that century-old traditions and customs of old China, political, economic and social, are rapidly disappearing in the large cities, but the process of disintegration has brought chaos and confusion more frequently than it has brought adjustment and progress. The omission, to a large extent, of any discussion of the basic, ever-present struggle for existence, the population problem, and the failure of transplanted Western institutions, gives one the feeling that the author is guilty of romanticizing, such as the Chinese themselves are fond of doing at times. Despite annoying inaccuracies in detail, the author achieves his fundamental purpose of giving a friendly, human interpretation of the Chinese people in a way that the average reader will enjoy. MAXWELL S. STEWART

A Sociological Jurist

Representative Opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes. Arranged with introductory notes by Alfred Lief, with foreword by Harold J. Laski. Vanguard Press. $4.50.

THIS is the third volume of a trilogy of opinions rendered by United States Supreme Court justices, two of the volumes containing opinions of Justice Holmes, and the other those of Justice Brandeis. So far as this reviewer is aware, this is the first time a publisher has ever thought that the general public would be interested in a volume of judicial opinions. And it is quite likely that a few other judges will achieve the distinction of having their opinions published elsewhere than in the law books.

Most judges look upon the law as a series of abstract principles by which the rights of men and the rules for their conduct towards each other are to be determined. Human beings must be made to fit the rules. There are certain fundamental rights, certain notions of abstract justice which are guaranteed and preserved by the Constitution, particularly the 14th Amendment. Aside from these, the rules which must govern men in their relations to each other are to be found in precedents, i. e., in cases which other judges have decided in other times, when the conditions under which men lived were quite different.

Opinions of judges, therefore, are generally dreary reading, except on the occasions when the judge becomes eloquent in defense of the right of the well-to-do to exploit the less fortunate. And even then, the opinions lack much in the way of literary excellence.

But for Justice Holmes there are no absolutes. He has been spoken of as a sociological jurist. Not that, as a judge, he expounded social theories. He did not. It would be difficult to determine his views on social questions from his opinions. However, he did believe that men were entitled to experiment and to find out by trial and error and by trial and success what social

ules would work the best. In Vegelahn v. Gunter, 167 Mass. 92, case involving a labor injunction, decided in 1896, while he was member of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, he said:

> The true grounds of decision are considerations of policy and social advantage, and it is vain to suppose that solutions can be attained merely by logic and general propositions that nobody disputes.

Again in Gompers v. United States, 223 U. S. 604, a case involving an alleged contempt of court, he declared:

> But the provisions of the Constitution are not mathematical formulas having their essence in their form; they are organic living institutions, transplanted from English soil. Their significance is vital, not formal; it is to be gathered not simply by taking the words and a dictionary, but by considering their origin and lines of growth.

Justice Holmes' opinions are not only an expression of good law and sound philosophy, but they are delightful reading as well. He uses words with precision so that his meaning is always clear, and he has the literary grace that might be expected from the son of the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table."

WILLIAM H. HOLLY

CORRESPONDENCE

In Defense of International Police

THE WORLD TOMORROW dismisses the French proposal for earmarking the peculiarly "aggressive" weapons of war for the exclusive use of the League of Nations as unethical. That depends, of course, entirely on one's point of view, and I suggest that, perhaps unhappily, this pronouncement on the part of THE WORLD TOMORROW would not be endorsed by the majority of men and women living in the world today. May I plead, therefore, for a little clear thinking as to what is really involved in the idea of international police work.

The idea, as you say, is implicit in the Covenant—though it is not true to say that an armed League was the official French view in 1919. On the contrary, responsible French statesmen, differing from M. Leon Bourgeois and his friends, were as anxious as Lord Cecil and the representatives of the British Dominions to respect the dogma of national sovereignty. They felt no doubt that, apart from the pressure of vested interests, ordinary men and women were not prepared for such a revolutionary change in mental outlook as is involved in the notion of using armament for coöperative instead of competitive ends.

But people have done a good deal of quiet thinking since then. Wherever you go, you find people acknowledging the fact that a League of Nations that lacks power to restrain the law-breaker is totally ineffective. There may have been secret political reasons for the utter fecklessness of the statesmen representing the nations in the League Council last September, when Japan started on the warpath. The main reason, however, for their pitiful exhibition of pusillanimity was the fact that there are at present no *effective* international sanctions in existence. A diplomatic *demarché* such as withdrawal of ambassadors, or even an economic and financial boycott, is inconceivable as a practical measure so long as there is not agreement in advance to enforce the collective will of the international society should actual physical force be required. The Sino-Japanese dispute has, in fact, entirely disproved the academic argument of Mr. Charles Evans Hughes which you cite. Such a pronouncement is flagrant evidence of Pascal's charge against humanity that "ne pouvant fortifier la justice, on a justifié la force."

The point is that modern science has now really made it possible to "fortifier la justice." Hence the importance of the French proposal at the Disarmament Conference. M. Tardieu suggests that the peculiarly "aggressive" weapons should be taken away from the national authorities (which have one and all shown their unfitness to be trusted with them) and transferred to an authority acting in the common interest of all so that they may be used for police work and for that alone. Is that a very wicked suggestion, when the whole basis of disarmament is reduction to a point compatible with "national safety" (endorsed by Mr. Gibson) and "the enforcement by common action of international obligations" (Article 8 of the Covenant, par. 1)?

It remains, of course, to define justice, which, in any case can be only a relative concept in this imperfect world. Here again the need for some authority above the sovereign, independent nations is elementary common sense. And here in fact is the great opportunity for leadership at the Conference. The need is for a realist acceptance of the principle of an international police force, —with the United States and Soviet Russia coöperating in their own way from outside as heretofore—in return for acceptance by France of some kind of equity tribunal that can, implementing Article 19 of the Covenant which is at present valueless, give expression to the law of life, which is change.

London, England DAVID DAVIES

The Boycott and Anarchism

LET no one conclude that my agreement with THE WORLD TOMORROW grows increasingly peripheral if I write to say that your recent editorials on the Japanese crisis invite discussion. Upholding the use of a League boycott against Japan, you raise some questions for anti-boycott pacifists. Brevity is difficult, for not one but several of your points suggest an assurance which compels attention. You find that the eagerness of jingoes to halt a League boycott "ought to give some pause to pacifists who regard the use of *any* sanction (italics mine) as the equivalent of war." Who are these pacifists? To regard a League, or official governmental, boycott as a warlike act hardly means, to my mind, an utter unwillingness to apply any kind of coercion at all. Before the official boycott, for example, might come a strong diplomatic pressure (which Mr. Stimson evaded at the time when it would have counted most and when pacifists of all views were urging it), the withdrawal of diplomatic representatives partially or completely, or even a popular, unofficial boycott movement, deliberately incomplete and functioning as an instrument of public opinion rather than of punishment. There has, I think, been exaggeration, or rather a lack of definition, on the part of some who have called the boycott "war"; but legal verbiage aside, the resemblance is still considerable. The coercive boycott—which in the present case has no relation to the boycott as defense or when employed by a single nation against another—contains within it the same fallacy as war; it assumes that "Japan" is this and that, when students of nationality know that there is no reality in these arbitrary entities. War, like the boycott, punishes alike the guilty and the innocent. The coercive international boycott is not totally dissimilar to military doctrines which have been unpopular with pacifists, in that the protests of the unfairly injured within a proscribed country are counted on to call off the stubborn leaders. There is a certain appropriateness in your citing Mr. Norman Angell in defense of such a boycott; for it was Mr. Angell who, during the War, and at the urgent request of Mr. Walter Lippmann, then of the *New Re-*

public, sought to bring American pacifists behind the War partly on the ground that the forces of law and right had to unite to crush a disturber of the peace.

Were pacifists in control of the boycott, it might conceivably be conducted without a blockade and thus be kept from inflicting hunger and disease on children and the innocent Japanese workers; but any thoughtful perusal of the detailed League discussions on this matter cannot be other than disquieting. League statesmen have fairly consistently linked the question of a boycott with the technical problems of securing a complete blockade. The issue of sanctions has been looming up less prominently, until now, as years have gone by; but most of the attitudes which mean anything today are embodied in the "memorandum and collection of reports, resolutions, and references" to Article XVI published at Geneva in 1927. Recognizing that League practices must evolve, like all law in the last analysis, from precedents and interpretations, and being unwilling to dogmatize in either direction, I submit that there is excellent ground for concluding that to the League, *boycott means blockade.* And blockade is not only indiscriminate; it has to be enforced concretely, usually by fleets, thus opening the way for the overt and the spontaneous acts which, in such a situation, might easily enlarge a localized conflict into a world-wide war. This, all pacifists can agree, would hardly be of help to China.

Again, there is a wholly practical possibility that Japan's imperialists, in their reckless folly, might actually declare war on that country which, among the nations engaged in a boycott, could be best symbolized to the Japanese masses as a wilful, historic, "natural" foe. Is it unfair to urge that pacifists who believe in an official boycott should decide what they would have our government do in such a contingency? That it is remote may be true; that there are abundant historic precedents for military defiance in the face of overwhelming odds, cannot be denied.

Finally, I must query the relevance of your closing question, in which you identify those opposed to a League boycott in the present instance with "absolute non-resistance" and ask whether these are "prepared to espouse the cause of anarchism in all political questions?" I should answer this interrogation by as startled a No as I should if someone inquired whether I were willing to espouse two wives at the same time. The questions and answers in each case might be sincere, but they would not be apropos. I happen to believe that the League may fall apart as quickly by relying on sanctions as it possibly can by their non-employment, and am unable to see any benefit to China in such an eventuality. I should like to see the League survive for the possible day when it will be an association of workers' governments, even if it cannot yet, a dozen years after its birth, root out or reverse the national habits of centuries. I am aware that to the perpetuation of these imperialistic customs many of the same Americans who would take part in a boycott have collectively contributed. Am I, for these views, an unmitigated anarchist? If so, I shall have to bask in that peculiar happiness of the unmitigated, who know that complications are illusory and that all things are crystal clear.

Wilton, Conn. DEVERE ALLEN

Help from Hollywood

THE Paramount talkie "Broken Lullaby" is the most pacifistic film I ever saw; please attend it and urge all readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW to get their lukewarm friends to go.

Ann Arbor, Mich. P. S. ONDERDONK

Another Compliment

IN the past I have not always enjoyed your magazine, but I cannot refrain from writing and saying what a fine numbe I think the May issue is. The treatment of sanctions on pag 132 seems to me perfect, and I have been slightly surprised t find it in your pages; the article on the Senate is extremely goo and the article on the boycott also. Even the poetry and th book reviews seem to me exceptionally good and I can't hel expressing my enthusiasm.

Madison, Wis. PITMAN B. POTTER

Youth Crusade for Disarmament

FIFTY THOUSAND people took part in the European Youth Crusade for Disarmament. One hundred and fifty meeting were held, the audiences ranging from 260 to 1,600. Six hundre addresses were given in towns and villages often traversed on foo by the Crusaders. The Crusade, launched by the Internationa F. O. R., culminated in Geneva, where 1,200 people gathered o Sunday, April 3, to hear the Youth speakers from six differen countries urge total disarmament. Next day 12 members of th Crusade presented their petition to Mr. Henderson, Chairma of the Disarmament Conference. Among these were Helen Kirk patrick and Camille Solomon, both of the United States.

The petition to the Disarmament Conference contained the fol lowing definite points:

"We expect from the Disarmament Conference now assemble in Geneva:

"The unreserved recognition of the total disarmament of al states as the goal, since without disarmament there is no rea security;

"The adoption, as a first effective step, of a definite plan fo the reduction of the world's armaments in the next five years b at least 50 per cent and their actual reduction during 1932-193 by at least 25 per cent;

"The prohibition, in particular, of specific weapons of aggres sion, such as the monster battleship and the submarine, the bomb ing-plane, tank and the howitzer, together with the preparation and use of poison gas and bacteria and the private manufacture of arms and munitions of all kinds;

"The abolition of compulsory military service—even if carried out by stages only—and the prohibition of military training of youth and of unofficial military organizations in any state.

"The present conference is to decide whether the young generation of today is to live or to die; yet youth is shut out from the deliberations.

"We shall support every sincere measure which will lead to real disarmament. Should the conference however fail to reach a satisfactory result, we are determined to achieve disarmament for ourselves. We refuse to take up arms against one another or to take part in a new war whose victims will be youth."

February 2, the day on which the Disarmament Conference began, saw the Youth Crusade begin its movement across France and Germany by several routes converging upon Geneva. Although there had been little time for preparation, it was found easy enough to organize meetings which were attended by hundreds and often by more than a thousand people. Speakers from other countries accompanied the Crusaders in France and Germany, and the platform was nearly always international.

Most striking was the keen response evoked everywhere by the Crusade and its radical disarmament program. The experience of the Crusaders in these two months, crossing France and Ger-

many by different routes, carrying their message to the more sequestered places, has shown that the peoples, on the whole, are set against war and armaments. Local authorities eagerly cooperated, provided hospitality, and usually in the towns and villages the mayor presided at the meetings, while teachers and pastors also helped. The cooperation of both Catholics and Protestants was notable.

The doors are open. That is the most common report. It means that hearts and minds are open. The populations are ready, are longing, for real disarmament and the substitution of generous, friendly relations in the place of the continued mistrust, fear and militarism.

Here in Geneva, this world citadel of disarmament, among the observers and the supporters of the Conference, one seems to notice a movement from the moderate to the more radical position in disarmament. The progress of the Conference, the influence of public opinion, the speeches and the stand of a few individuals—these quietly play their role. The cause of real disarmament and a new beginning is surely winning further support. The Youth Crusade for Disarmament leads to the revelation that great masses of the population in town, village and country, both in Germany and in France, utterly condemn war, believe in and demand total disarmament, and are ready for it now.

Geneva, Switzerland DONALD GRANT

The L. I. P. A. Replies

IN an editorial of your May issue you write as though the League for Independent Political Action were interested in a middle-class party and contemplated putting a ticket of such a party in the field. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Consistently the L. I. P. A. has sought to promote a labor party. The votes for any new political alignment that will serve the masses must come from workers and farmers. We have continuously been making our appeal to trade unions, railroad brotherhoods and farm groups. Many members of these organizations have welcomed the program of the League and are serving on our city, state and national committees.

To be sure, we believe that at the beginning the leadership of such a party will largely come in this country, as it has in other countries, from the intellectuals of the middle class. Such a party will not come into power, however, until the workers have responded and given their leadership. It must be their expression.

The leaders of the L. I. P. A. believe, as you do, that no diluted philosophy of government or economics will do for this day. Social planning and control must take the place of our insecure, unplanned society.

The League for Independent Political Action holds its annual meeting July 8-9 in Cleveland. To this gathering will come members of the League who are also members of trade unions, farm organizations, women's groups, churches, colleges, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Liberty Party, the Socialist Party and other progressive groups. Here we will take action on the 1932 presidential campaign. Our statement of principles and our Four-Year Presidential Plan for the period 1932-1936 include almost all of the immediate demands of the Socialist Party. There will be no compromise with these declared principles.

The League for Independent Political Action does not itself seek to be a party; it is rather a coordinating agency, and will never compete with the Socialist Party but cooperate with it in every way, as it does with the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Farmer-Labor Party of Cook County, Illinois, the Independent Labor Party of West Virginia and similar movements, looking forward to that day when a united labor party shall be fashioned that will include them all.

New York, N. Y. HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS,
Executive Secretary.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A Correction

IN the April issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW, under the title, "Poems on the Far Eastern Crisis," four poems were credited to Toyohiko Kagawa. Dr. Kagawa is the author of two of these poems—"Child of an Aching Heart" and "Why?" The other two—"To the Republic of China" and "Make Not Japan a Second Germany"—are by Motoichiro Takahashi.

We wish to express our apologies to Mr. Takahashi and to our readers for this unfortunate error, which was due to confusion in the manuscript submitted to us.

THE EDITORS

Peace Through Personal Contact

AN organization to be known as the International Correspondence for Peace has been launched in Germany for the purpose of promoting personal friendships among citizens of various nations. According to its president, the new organization plans to establish and foster international acquaintanceships by the exchange of letters and to arrange mutual visits. Those who are interested in becoming members may obtain detailed information by applying to Mr. Karl Heinz Spalt, 6 Wilhelm Glässing-Str., Darmstadt, Germany.

Educating for Internationalism

THE American Peoples College in Europe, sponsored by such leading educators as John Dewey, William H. Kilpatrick, Robert Morss Lovett, Harry A. Overstreet and Frederick Howe, has arranged a combination of summer courses and study tours with headquarters in the village of Oetz, in the Austrian Tyrol. The college is also putting into effect a plan embracing a year's travel and study abroad at a cost of $775, including steamship fare. Many incidental tours are planned as part of the college's program and will be conducted by leaders in the various aspects of international relations. Detailed information concerning the college may be obtained from The Hill Publicity Bureau, 409 Crosby Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

A Southwestern Camp for Progressives

A COMBINED program of recreation and study is offered at the Commonwealth College Summer Camp from June through September. Costs may be reduced to a dollar a day or less for room, board, laundry service and camp features to those willing to follow the Commonwealth custom and help 15 hours a week with community tasks. Those not working will pay double. Proceeds go to the maintenance of the school.

Discussion circles and lectures are planned on such topics as "The Labor Movement Today," "Looking Behind the News," and "The Changing Thought of a Machine Age." Additional information may be obtained from the executive secretary, Commonwealth College, Mena, Ark.

By KIRBY PAGE

Author: National Defense Editor: The World Tomorrow

A BOOK that is a much needed pick-me-up in these trying times. It is not a "cure-all" for the ailments that harass the body and the mind, but a guide to a way of life that the author has found to be satisfactory. It is a book that will help you help yourself and the world.

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7. Explore Great Biographies
8. Follow the Noblest Personality
9. Cooperate Creatively with God
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